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## Mordechai Gur takes own life

Deputy defense minister had cancer

ALON PINKAS

DEPUTY Defense Minister Mordechai (Motta) Gur was found dead yesterday in his Tel Aviv home with a self-inflicted gunshot wound to his neck, police said.

Gur, 65, had been battling cancer for years. He was buried yesterday evening in a full military ceremony at the Kiryat Shaul Cemetery.

"I have decided to end my life because I do not want to remain a burden on my family," Gur wrote in a suicide note found in his study.

At 5:30 a.m. yesterday, Gur's family found him slumped on a bench in the garden of his home in the Afeka area, holding his pistol. He was declared dead at the scene by ambulance personnel.

A coroner diagnosed the cause of death as a gunshot wound in the neck. Police ruled out foul play.

Gur served as the IDF's 10th chief of general staff from April 1974 to April 1978. He later served as health minister from 1984 to 1986 in the national unity government, but resigned when Shimon Peres stepped down as prime minister under the rotation agreement with the Likud. Since the 1992 elections, he has served as deputy defense minister.

"Motta was a special man. Sensitive and strong, a soldier and a citizen. His illustrious military service was exemplary as a fighter and as a commander. Above all, he was a friend you knew would always be beside you," Prime

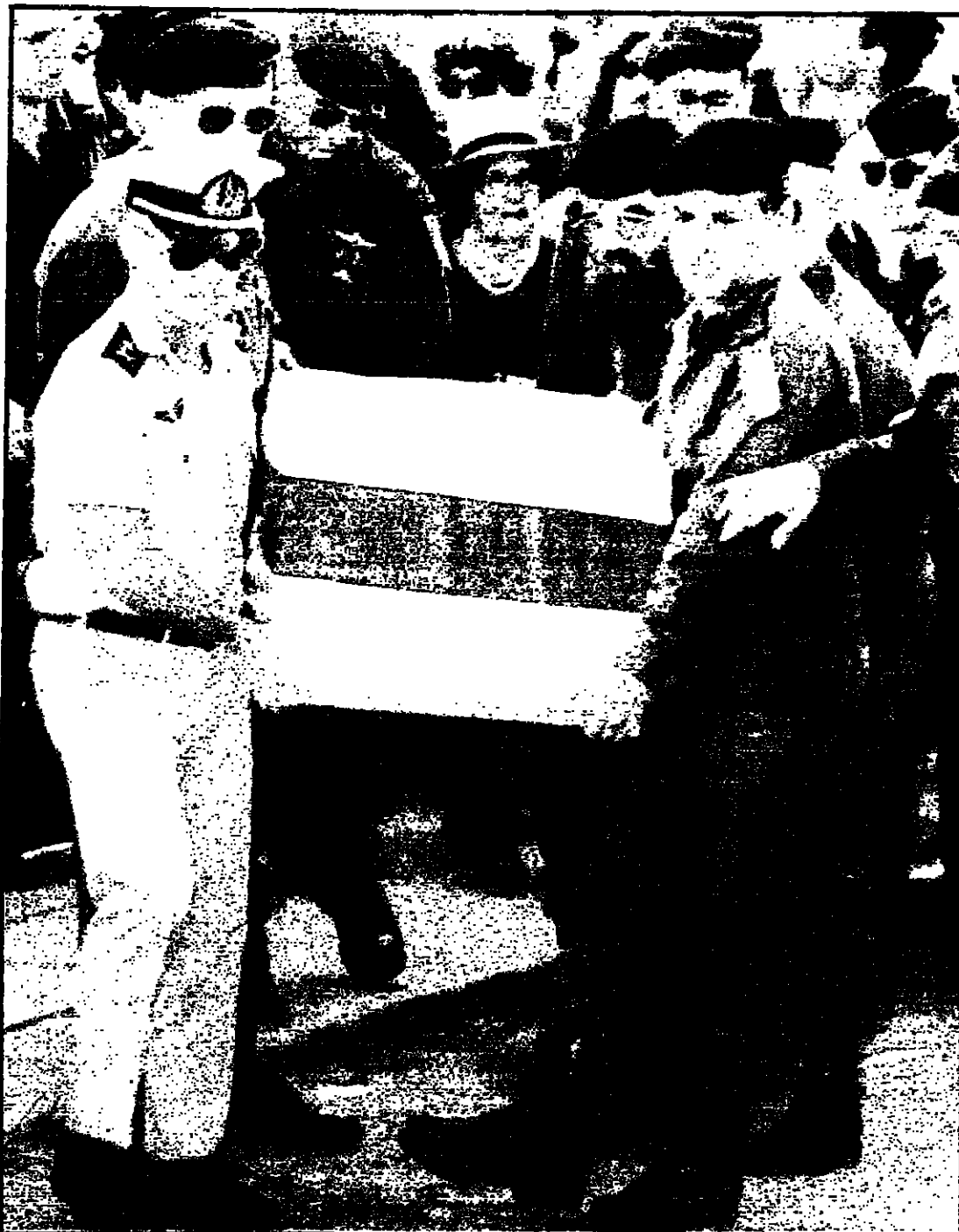


Mordechai Gur (AP)

Minister Yitzhak Rabin said, after a moment of silence in Gur's memory was observed at the start of yesterday's cabinet meeting.

"His departure is a loss to all of us. To the IDF and to the Defense Ministry. The indelible imprint he left on the army will accompany us for many years to come. After the Yom Kippur War, Motta built a new army. A stronger army. His opinions were always intelligent, wise yet simple." Chief of the General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak said yesterday.

See stories, Page 2



Six major-generals carry Mordechai Gur's coffin at Kiryat Shaul Cemetery. (A. Ron/Israel Sun)

## Secluded autonomy talks begin in Zichron

DAVID MAKOVSKY and JOSE ROSENFELD

ISRAELI and Palestinian negotiators launched secluded negotiations in Zichron Ya'acov yesterday, and pledged to continue talking until they reach an agreement on expanding autonomy throughout the territories.

The sides have undertaken to reach an interim deal on IDF redeployment and Palestinian elections by July 25th.

Meanwhile, the daunting cost of redeploying the IDF presented to the cabinet yesterday pushed Economics Minister Shimon Shetreet to suggest the government turn to the US and other countries for help to pay the bill.

Approximately 150-200 negotiators arrived at the Moriah Gardens Hotel to begin discussing the outstanding issues.

Right-wing demonstrators awaited the negotiators, but were kept some 100 meters from the hotel by a heavy police contingent. Journalists were allowed no closer to the site than the adjoining parking lot.

Many sets of parallel negotiations are to be conducted, and the agreement is expected to include at least five sections: military division of authority, civil functions, Palestinian election modalities, legal jurisdiction, and bilateral cooperation.

Among the difficult issues that the Palestinians want resolved are sharing control of Hebron, and establishment of joint patrols in Bethlehem and Ramallah along the main roads until bypass roads are completed for settlers.

Another difficult issue is water usage. Israel wants to ensure that Palestinians in the Kalkiya and Tulkarm area do not drill in the area of Israel's largest aquifer, the Yarkon-Taninim. The aquifer provides about 350 million cubic meters of water per year.

Israel is also concerned about Palestinian drilling near a smaller aquifer at Gilboa, which is located northeast of Jenin.

Concern about potential Palestinian drilling has intensified amid unconfirmed reports that there have been hundreds of hazardous drilling expeditions in Gaza since the IDF pulled out

last year. Israeli water experts have reportedly told the Palestinian Authority that as a result, Gaza is heading towards the resaturation of its water sources.

Palestinian officials said the talks will not be concluded successfully without a summit meeting between PLO leader Yasser Arafat and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

At the cabinet meeting, Shetreet said the costs of redeployment could reach more than "NIS 7 billion, and if we add to that an arrangement in the Golan - I don't want even to mention a figure, because it will scare people - we may have to ask for assistance from the US and other countries."

"We won't just ask for [help] to the Palestinians, but also for ourselves," said Shetreet. "Where is it written that the whole cost of peace has to fall on Israel?"

Finance Minister Avraham Shohat, who has been calling for budget cuts and for the defense budget to absorb a large part of the redeployment's costs, said the Treasury had already approved enough spending for the defense forces to reorganize themselves under the required timetable. He added that funding issues were not impeding the progress of the peace process.

The Treasury reported that it has already authorized NIS 600 million to the defense authorities.

Responding to the police request for an immediate NIS 70m. to fund 1,000 more policemen thought needed for the redeployment, Shohat said it could meet its needs by drawing from its existing force.

Shohat reiterated that demands for an additional NIS 2.5b. to pay for redeployment are a threat to the budget and the economy.

"My inclination is to try to deal with the problem without imposing taxes. My natural preference is for budget cuts over raising taxes, but only time will tell if that is possible," said Shohat.

However, few ministers expressed willingness to have their budgets cut.

Jon Immanuel contributed to this report.

## Saddam frees two American prisoners

News agencies

BAGHDAD - President Saddam Hussein, responding to a personal plea by a US congressman, yesterday freed two Americans who served four months in prison for wandering across the border from Kuwait.

William Barloon and David Daliberti, wearing blue jeans and appearing relaxed and clean-shaven, celebrated their freedom with pizza and champagne at the Polish Embassy, which handles American interests in Iraq.

"I'm very happy that these two fine men will be going home to their families tonight," US Rep. Bill Richardson said as he stood between the two men at the Mi-lye-Mansour Hotel in Baghdad.

Saddam ordered the release of the two Americans after a meeting earlier Sunday with Richardson, a New Mexico Democrat, who asked for the Americans to be freed on humanitarian grounds.

"I am happy to be reunited with my family," Barloon said. Daliberti said only that it was a "great day."

"These two are fine young men who tonight will be going home to their families," declared a beaming Richardson as he hugged them hours after they left Baghdad's Abu Ghraib prison.

The two smiling, broadly, looked healthy. Earlier they were reported to be in poor health. They declined to answer other questions from reporters.

The Americans, who work for US defense contractors, were arrested inside Iraq on March 13 on what they described as a trip to visit friends among UN military observers in the border's demilitarized zone.

An Iraqi court tried the two and sentenced them to eight years imprisonment on March 25 for illegal entry.

Saddam pardoned them yesterday and ordered that they be released immediately.

Barloon, 30, of New Hampton, Iowa, and Daliberti, 41, of Jacksonville, Florida, walked out of Abu Ghraib prison carrying their belongings and were taken to the US Embassy compound, escorted by a Polish diplomat.

The duo was expected to leave Iraq with Richardson early today via Amman, a 10-hour trip by desert road. Air links to and from

## Chirac admits France's role in WWII deportation of Jews

PARIS (Reuters) - President Jacques Chirac turned one of the darkest pages of French history yesterday by recognizing that the French state shared responsibility for deporting Jews to Nazi death camps during World War II.

"Yes, the criminal folly of the [German] occupier was assisted by French people, by the French state," Chirac said in a speech at a ceremony commemorating the 1942 roundup of Paris Jews by the collaborationist Vichy regime's police.

"These dark hours tarnish forever our history and are an insult to our past and our traditions," he declared.

It was the first time a post-war head of state had fully acknowledged France's role.

His statement, hailed by Jewish leaders, broke with the line of his predecessor, Francois Mitterrand, who insisted the French Republic could not be held responsible for Vichy's crimes and owed the Jews no apology.

On July 16, 1942, French policemen and gendarmes, acting on the orders of their commanders, rounded up about 13,000 Jews in the French capital, in response to demands from the German occupation authorities.

They were crammed in appalling conditions into the Vel d'Hiv indoor cycling stadium before being interned and deported to the Auschwitz extermination camp. Most never returned.

"France, the homeland of the Enlightenment and of human rights, on that day committed the irreparable," Chirac said. "Breaking its word, it handed over those under its protection to their murderers."

"Recognizing the errors of the past, recognizing the errors committed by the state, masking nothing of the dark hours of our history, is quite simply a way to defend the idea of man's freedom and dignity," he added.

Nazi-hunting lawyer Serge

Klarsfeld, veteran leader of the association of children of deported French Jews, called Chirac's statement a great step forward.

"This speech contained everything we hoped to hear one day. Just remember that until a few years ago, only a low-level government official came to this ceremony," he told reporters.

Klarsfeld said on Saturday that the French state had kept the assets confiscated from deported Jews and handed them over to the Treasury after World War II. He demanded compensation.

"All the Jewish people and all those who fought the Nazis must have been delighted to hear these words," said Jean Kahn, president of the European Jewish Congress.

Chirac said French people had committed a "collective error" towards the Jews. But he said another France, personified by General Charles de Gaulle, had rejected Vichy, resisted the Nazis and shared in the allied liberation of Europe.

## 'Syrian-Israeli ambassador talks to resume'

HILLEL KUTTLER  
WASHINGTON

But Israeli officials said the US has not yet invited the parties back to the table.

Israel is holding out for the agreed-on formula of the military talks resuming and believes Syria is again seeking concessions to get those talks restarted.

"There are very tough issues and they're very experienced, tough negotiators," Christopher said. "It's our job to try to keep that negotiation on an even keel, so I wouldn't overreact to one of the ups and downs in those negotiations. We're moving forward on that."

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"It's our job to try to keep that negotiation on an even keel, so I wouldn't overreact to one of the ups and downs in those negotiations. We're moving forward on that."

## 'PA will try terrorists after elections'

DAVID MAKOVSKY

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat promised a US congressional staffer last week that the Palestinian Authority would continue to maintain military courts to try terrorists and other security offenders, even after Palestinian elections are held later this fall, non-Israeli sources said.

In a Gaza meeting last week with Danielle Pletka, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee staffer for Near East and South Asian affairs, she asked if such courts would continue operating.

After Arafat said such courts would remain in place, Planning Minister Nabil Shaath and Local Affairs Minister Saeb Erakat, who were both at the meeting, began to openly disagree with him, apparently believing such courts are not consistent with democratic practice.

Arafat, confident of his election, stuck to his promise, sources said. The military courts have reportedly convicted 17 people involved in terrorism against Israel.

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17071000

With deep sorrow, we mourn the death of our mother and grandmother

### ERIKA SCHNELLER

The funeral took place on Sunday, July 16, 1995 at the cemetery in Haifa

lrit, Alan, Eden, Ellnor Miller

To Hanan and to the Waizner family  
we share in your grief on the passing of your

### MOTHER and GRANDMOTHER

The funeral will take place today at 16:30 in the Moshav Habonim Cemetery, Beit Habonim.

With deep sorrow, we announce the passing of

### SHIMON RUCKENSTEIN

of Safed

on July 15, 1995

Mourning by his family.

### MARTHA VARDI

Née Foerster

has been granted relief, after long suffering.

The funeral will take place at Kiryat Shaul Cemetery, on Tuesday, July 18, 1995, at 2 p.m.

Yaacov Vardi  
and the Family

### Yeshiva University in Israel

We inform the public of the unveiling of the tombstone of our dear friend and colleague

### JACK NUSSBAUM

on Tuesday, July 18, 1995 (20 Tamuz 5755) at 5:00 p.m. at Har Tamir, in the presence of the family.

The Government of Israel  
mourns the death of

### Lt.-Gen. (Res.) MORDECHAI (Motta) GUR

Deputy Minister of Defense  
Former Government Minister  
and Chief of the General Staff

and extends deepest condolences to the bereaved family.



The Israel Defense Forces  
mourn the death of

### Lt.-Gen. (Res.) MORDECHAI (Motta) GUR

The tenth Chief of the General Staff

and offer condolences to the family.

Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak  
Chief of the General Staff  
Commanders and Soldiers of the IDF



I mourn the death of

### Lt.-Gen. (Res.) MORDECHAI (Motta) GUR

Deputy Defense Minister  
Distinguished soldier, commander, friend, and resolute partner  
in many enterprises, with whom I shared cherished hopes.

Yitzhak Rabin  
Prime Minister and Minister of Defense

# 'Gur devoted entire life to state'

JACOB DALLAL

"THE State of Israel has lost one of its finest sons - the liberator of Jerusalem," President Ezer Weizman said yesterday, on learning of the death of Deputy Defense Minister Mordechai Gur. "Motta Gur," he added, "devoted his entire life to serving the security needs of the state."

Gur had a long career of government and military service, during which he served as the IDF's 10th chief of general staff, as health minister, and as an MK since 1981.

Gur is best remembered for his role in the Six Day War, when, as commander of the paratroop brigade that captured Jerusalem's Old City, he told the nation, "The Temple Mount is in our hands."

Gur was born Mordechai Gurban on

May 6, 1930, in Jerusalem, but grew up in Rehovot. In his early teens he joined the Hagana, and was a company commander during the War of Independence. In the 1950s, Gur participated as a member of the paratroopers in cross-border reprisal raids against Palestinian gunmen and Egyptian and Jordanian forces. During one incident in Gaza, Gur was wounded and he received a medal of valor.

During the 1956 Sinai Campaign, he was commander of a Nahal paratroopers battalion.

During this period, Gur also studied at Hebrew University, where he majored in Middle Eastern studies. He later attended

the French military college, Ecole Militaire-Ecole de Guerre, in Paris.

Following the Six Day War, he was promoted to major-general and was named OC Northern Command. In 1972-73, Gur was military attaché at the Israeli Embassy in Washington.

In 1974, after briefly returning to the Northern Command, Gur was appointed Chief of General Staff. He masterminded the July 4, 1976, raid on the hijacked Air France plane in Entebbe, and in 1978 conducted the Litani Operation, which attacked PLO strongholds in southern Lebanon.

After retiring from the army in 1978,

Gur studied at Harvard School of Business and then joined the Labor party. In 1981 he was elected an MK, and in 1984, when Shimon Peres was prime minister, Gur was appointed health minister. He resigned the post when Yitzhak Shamir became premier in 1986 under the rotation agreement.

In the present government, Gur served as deputy defense minister and as liaison to the settlers in the territories.

Gur wrote six books, three on military history and three adventure books for children.

He is survived by his wife, Rita, four children and grandchildren.

Former agriculture minister Avraham Katz-Oz is to be sworn in today as Gur's replacement Labor MK.

## Adoptive mother finally cries

BATSHEVA TSUR

FOR 40 years, from the moment she heard that her only son had been killed in action as a paratrooper in Gaza, Shira Horowitz was not able to cry.

Early yesterday morning, when she learned of the death of Mordechai Gur, the tears of four decades came pouring out.

"To bury one son... Heaven forbid. But now to have to bury another - a 'son' who has been with you for 40 years - words just fail me," said Horowitz, a frail, blind 90-year-old who lives in Tel Aviv. "I didn't cry the first time, I never cried when there were visitors who spoke about my son, nor when my husband died - but with Motta, the blocked canals to my eyes have just opened up and I can't stop."

Gur was "adopted" by Horowitz in 1955. "My son Luffi [Ahuf] was on a retaliatory raid with the paratroopers in Gaza on February 28 that year," she recalled yesterday. "Half way through the battle, he was shot. Some of the boys ran up to give him first aid, but Luffi told them: 'I am finished. You get on with the fighting.' Nu," she sighs, "that is the way we brought him up, to do everything for the country. But I have never forgiven myself for telling him to volunteer. I waited 10 years to have him."

When the raid was over, Luffi, 19, was dead. "Four boys tried to carry him back on a stretcher, but they didn't have the strength. Luffi was a fantastic guy, the type everyone loved. But he was broad-shouldered and heavy. He was 1.85 meters tall."

"Then Motta came up to them. He was the platoon commander. He lifted Luffi onto his shoulder. He carried him back to me, all on his own, from the battlefield to where the truck was waiting in Kfar Aza. It was a long, long way but he refused to give up."

In an interview yesterday with Israel Radio anchorwoman Dalia Yairi, Horowitz recounted how the boys had had to prop up Luffi's body and hide behind it as snipers shot at them on the way back. "He served them in that way too. But I have forgiven them," she said.

From then on, Gur would visit the Horowitz household regularly. "We had a relationship of mother and son. I never asked him for anything but he was always there, devoted and ready to help," Horowitz says of Gur.



Mordechai Gur as chief of staff explains details of the Entebbe operation at a briefing following the July 4, 1976 rescue. (IDF Spokesman)

## 'Patient responded well to radiotherapy'

JUDY SIEGEL

MORDECHAI Gur suffered from a very rare type of cancer of the lining of the chest which was first diagnosed in 1984.

It recently metastasized to the brain, but his doctors at Ichilov Hospital noted that Gur had "responded well" to radiotherapy and that the tumor had "disappeared completely."

Prof. Samario Chaitchik, director of the oncology institute at the Tel Aviv hospital, said he last saw Gur three days before his death. "We had become very friendly with him, so we are in a great shock. He was supposed to come again in 10 days."

In the late Eighties, Gur underwent surgery at Sheba Hospital for

removal of a tumor in his chest and was able to function close to normally.

But recently, said Chaitchik, the cancer spread to the base of the skull and then to the brain. "He felt a bit tired, weak and fuzzy. But he responded well to the radiotherapy and never showed any signs that he was in desperation. We all gave him a lot of support. He received medication for pain whenever he needed it." Chaitchik added that the deputy defense minister never mentioned the possibility of euthanasia or suicide.

Chaitchik said the type of cancer that struck Gur was very rare: "We see only about one or two cases of it at Ichilov in a year."

## Trauma of cancer can be helped

JUDY SIEGEL

THE number of cancer patients - even terminally ill ones - who commit suicide in this country is very small, but "one must respect the personal decision of each patient," says Prof. Lea Baider, head of the psycho-oncology unit at Hadassah-University Hospital's Sharett Institute in Jerusalem's Ein Kerem.

Baider, a psychologist, is one of a select group of specialists who help relieve the emotional trauma suffered by cancer patients and their families. "Pain can be controlled or even eliminated in the majority of patients," he said. "But what cancer patients most fear is a loss of control, a lack of personal autonomy. They are shocked that their body has failed them, that they don't know what the future holds. We try to give them a sense of now, so that they

don't live in either the past or the future. This eases their fears and increases their sense of control."

"The most important thing for the hospital staff to do is to promote the patient's sense of dignity and identity."

A wide variety of techniques is used to ease the patient's emotional suffering, including: relaxation therapies; individual, group and family therapy; guided imagery; and even hypnosis. "They learn new coping mechanisms," she says.

The Israel Cancer Association yesterday noted that its staff and volunteers are always available to provide support to cancer patients via its Telemida (information) line (03) 571-7888, and its Tele-Pmicha (emotional support) line (02) 247-676.

### Winning cards

In yesterday's Mifal Hapayis daily Chance card draw, the lucky cards were the king of spades, ace of hearts, 10 of diamonds, and 10 of clubs.

### CORRECTION

The first two directors of the Diaspora Museum resigned because of disagreements with the board of directors, and not as reported in Friday's newspaper. The Jerusalem Post regrets the error.

### MINNIE PHILIPS

Beloved aunt of Jean and Jack Stein and their family died in Cape Town on July 15, aged 92.

Her devotion to Israel was tireless.

### IF AN ARAB TERRORIST KILLED YOUR LOVED ONE... WOULD YOU WANT HIM TO BE FREED?

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May G-d bless you and your family.

\* Speakers and video documentaries are available upon request.

Syria slams it for

SLA soldiers

Clalit nurses protest new home-care plan

JUDY SIEGEL

Clalit Health Services nurses are protesting a new home-care plan that would require them to provide services in their own homes.

The nurses' union, Clalit Nurses' Association, said the plan would force them to provide services in their own homes, which would be a major change in their work.

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# Police arrest 25 Hebron settlers

## Angry crowd protests detention of Jewish youth

HERB KEINON

SOME 25 Hebron Jews, 19 of them minors, were arrested yesterday protesting the arrest Saturday night of a 15-year-old, who police suspected used a slingshot to fire objects at a Palestinian passerby.

Samaria and Judea district police spokesman Boaz Goldenberg said that a Palestinian man complained to the police that a number of Jewish youths near Beit Hadassah fired an object at him. The police took the man to the site, and he identified the youth, who was then arrested.

"He was arrested, and taken to the police station," Goldenberg said. "We called his parents, but they didn't come. The youth refused to cooperate with the investigators."

The boy was later released. No charges

were filed.

As he was being interrogated into the early hours of yesterday morning, about 50 residents of the settlement tried to make their way to the civil administration compound where the youth was being held. A few of the people were arrested on the way up, and about 20 people were arrested as they held a loud demonstration in front of the compound.

Hebron Mayor Mustafa Natshe told AP that settlers rampaged through the town Saturday evening, hurling stones at houses and smashing the windshield of an Arab-owned car.

Palestinians threw stones at the settlers,

shouting "Allahu Akbar." Local reporters said five Palestinians and a settler were hurt in the clashes. Goldenberg said this has not been confirmed.

The police spokesman said that the police want to release most of the other youths, but that they have refused to cooperate with the police.

Hebron Jewish settlement leader Noam Arnon said the youths refused to identify themselves as an act of protest against "the continuous harassment of Hebron settlers."

"When we complain of Arab rock-throwing they do nothing," Arnon said. "But when the Arabs complain, the police come and pick up a kid without telling his parents. It was like a kidnapping."



Employees of the Of Hanegev chicken factory demonstrate yesterday outside Nuva headquarters in Tel Aviv against plans by the concern to close the plant. (Beni Birak/TPPA)

## Syria slams Israel for blaming it for peace talks hitch

DAMASCUS (AP) — A leading government newspaper yesterday denounced Israel for blaming Damascus for a setback in peace negotiations that has prevented key talks between military chiefs resuming in Washington.

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said Saturday that peace talks with Damascus had reached a crisis point. "I must say I'm very happy that no one can place the blame on Israel. This crisis is a Syrian creation," Peres said in an

interview with Israel Radio.

The Tishrin daily said Israel has returned to "deceit and maneuvering by trying to hold Syria responsible for the crisis engulfing the idea of continuing military discussions."

Damascus said Saturday it would not be sending its chief of staff, Lt.-Gen. Hikmet Shihabi, to Washington to resume the military talks which were held there last month.

It accused Israel of "conduct-

ing negotiations just for the sake of negotiations."

Tishrin said there was no point in Syria sending military experts to Washington "so long as Israel is still trying to gain security privileges that would infringe on Syria's sovereignty on the Golan Heights."

It noted that Israel's call for the military experts' meeting was "an overt maneuver to waste time and to create a false impression that peace is imminent."

## SLA soldiers wounded by roadside bombs

TWO South Lebanese Army soldiers were wounded in Hizbullah roadside bomb attacks in the security zone yesterday, the fifth and sixth to have been hurt in similar incidents in a week.

One incident occurred while SLA troops were on operational duties near the Beit Yahoun crossing point in the western

DAVID RUDGE

sector of the zone.

Reports from Lebanon said an explosive device was detonated alongside the soldiers, slightly wounding one of them. He was treated in the field before being transferred to the nearby Bint J'bil hospital.

A second SLA soldier was slightly wounded by another roadside bomb last night in the Soujoud region in the zone's eastern sector, when troops were searching for explosive devices.

Hizbullah has vowed to continue its fight to "free south Lebanon of the Zionist occupiers and their collaborator allies."

## Clalit nurses protest new home-care plan

JUDY SIEGEL

KUPAT Holim Clalit's clinic nurses yesterday voiced their opposition to the health fund's plan to establish a home-care corporation, and called on MK Amir Peretz, head of the Histadrut's trade union department, to support their struggle against the plan.

"At present, Clalit clinic nurses carry out some 100,000 home visits a month. They treat patients unable to leave their homes: cancer patients, the paralyzed, children, the elderly, patients suffering from psychiatric diseases, diabetes and hypertension. Now Clalit, solely motivated by the desire to save money, wants to transfer these services to cheap, non-professional workers," claimed Irit Halevy, who is due to head the clinic nurses union.

Clalit spokesman David Tager said the nurses were "full partners" in planning the change, and will continue to be so in its implementation.

The structural reorganization, he claimed, "will make home treatment more efficient and reduce pressure on hospitals to save expensive hospitalization days."

## Elisheva Barak to nat'l labor court

THE Justice Ministry's judge appointment committee on Friday named Jerusalem District Labor Court Judge Elisheva Barak to the National Labor Court.

The appointment was unanimously approved by the committee members, including Justice Minister David Liba'i, Likud MK Dan Meridor and Israel Bar Association representatives Zvi Meir and Shimon Ben-Ya'acov.

The committee determined that Barak, whose husband is Supreme Court deputy president Aharon Barak, was the most qualified off all candidates for the post, and rejected past claims that a married couple should not hold two senior judgeships because of a conflict of interests.

Jerusalem Post Staff

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Suspect arrested in Karmiel murder case

Police have arrested a suspect in connection with the brutal murder of Karmiel resident Oleg Amalchuck, 33, who was found stabbed to death in his apartment there Saturday night. The suspect, 30, also a Karmiel resident, has denied any involvement. He is to appear before the Acre Magistrate's Court today for a remand hearing.

David Rudge

### Flour, bread, pasta up

As of yesterday, the price of flour rose 11.6 percent, bread 4.9% and pasta 3.9%. According to industry and Trade Ministry economist Shabtai Levy, the increases are due to a sharp rise in the cost of US wheat. Some of the new prices: white flour, NIS 1.80/kg.; light white flour or semolina, NIS 1.90/kg.; dark bread, NIS 1.90; white bread, NIS 1.85; challah and yeast bread, NIS 1.90; rolls, NIS 0.60; dark sliced bread, NIS 2.20; white sliced bread, NIS 2.

Jerusalem Post Staff

### Inventor Moshe Sira dies

Astrophysicist Moshe Sira died yesterday in the US at the age of 87. Sira immigrated to Israel in 1933 and first worked as a radio repairman. He later emigrated to the US, where he worked for Lockheed. Sira developed the eight-track tape system, which was originally intended for use in space. Sira is survived by a son.

Iim

### Tractor driver arrested for kerosene spill

Police have arrested a 52-year-old resident of Kafr Kara on suspicion he drove the tractor that split open an oil pipeline in the Nahal Hadera park last Thursday and caused a leakage of over 170,000 liters of kerosene. Police said the suspect, who was remanded for five days by Hadera Magistrate's Court, has admitted the offense. Police are also questioning the owner of the tractor on suspicion the driver was illegally digging for sand in the region when he hit the pipeline.

David Rudge

### Shahor denies clashes with talks team

Maj.-Gen. Oren Shahor, a senior negotiator with the Palestinians, denied yesterday that two officers had quit the team because they have personality clashes with him. The Jerusalem Post reported yesterday that Col. David Yahav and a lieutenant-colonel had left the team because of clashes with Shahor. Shahor said the lieutenant-colonel has not quit and that Yahav asked to be relieved because he is retiring.

Alon Pinkas

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## The Wexner Israel Fellowship Program at Harvard University's

The Wexner Israel Fellowship Program annually sponsors ten Israel Government Officials in the Mid-Career Program at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Fellowships will be granted for an eleven month period, starting August 1996, during which the fellows will complete the Mid-Career Masters in Public Administration Program, including Harvard's Summer Program.

The Wexner Israel Fellowship will cover tuition and fees at the Kennedy School plus health insurance, travel costs and a monthly living allowance for the fellows and their families.

### Eligibility:

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The Foundation welcomes applications and inquiries.

For further information, contact: B. Gus, The Wexner Israel Fellowship Program, 18 Sa'adia Gaon St., Jerusalem 92267

Last date to request application materials: November 30, 1995. Completed applications must be submitted by December 15, 1995.

## Norway probes seizure of Jewish money

BATSHEVA TSUR

THE Norwegian parliament will look into charges that Norway confiscated Jewish money and property during the Quisling regime in World War II, a World Jewish Congress official said yesterday.

The charges were raised in the Norwegian media and referred to the activities of the Liquidation Committee for Confiscated Jewish Property headed by a high court judge, Egil Reichborn-Kjennerud.

The existence of this committee recently came to light. World Jewish Congress secretary-general Avi Becker said yesterday.

Becker said that Petter Thomassen, head of the Control and Constitution Committee of the Storting, Norway's parliament, had promised to hold an examination into the partial or complete confiscation of Jewish property and the erasure of Jewish bank accounts during the 1940s.

The WJC, Becker said, is cooperating with the small local Jewish community on the matter.

## Swiss banks break silence on assets from Holocaust

ZURICH (Reuters) - Swiss banks are breaching their traditional secrecy to answer claims they that they hold huge assets left by Jews murdered in the Holocaust, but say the chances of finding lost fortunes are slim.

Breaking their traditional silence over accounts and customers, the banks reject speculation that they profited from billions of dollars allegedly left ownerless since World War II.

But the banks, accused by some Jewish groups of making it hard for rightful heirs to find lost accounts, have pledged to speed up searches for a few so-called "ownerless" accounts they say may still exist.

A Reuters poll of the three big-

gest Swiss banks - Union Bank of Switzerland (UBS), Swiss Bank Corp (SBC) and Credit Suisse (CS) - found officials skeptical about finding many ownerless Holocaust accounts.

The banks once before swept their vaults for ownerless accounts from Nazi victims, forced by a 1963 law that turned up about 9.5 million Swiss francs (\$8.2 million at 1995 rates) for division between heirs and charity groups.

Media reports in the United States and Israel, have speculated that Jewish accounts from the 1930s and 1940s could hold up to billions of dollars.

"I am sure it will be a big disappointment for people who think we are sitting on a pile of some-

body else's gold bars," said one banker.

UBS, the country's biggest bank, said it was searching its records for accounts left from Jews murdered in Nazi camps.

"We expect it would be a very, very small number, certainly fewer than 100 accounts," UBS spokesman Franz Ragenbass said.

The head of the Federation of Swiss Jewish Communities, Rolf Bloch, says between 1,000 and 2,000 Jewish heirs have in recent years been seeking information about possible lost accounts.

"We should not exaggerate the sums of money that may be involved. For me, it is not a question of the amount but of principle," he told Reuters.

## 'Czech agents kidnapped ex-Gestapo head in 1956'

BONN (AP) - A former Czechoslovak communist leader claimed in a report Saturday that his agents kidnapped former Gestapo chief Heinrich Mueller from Argentina in 1956 and turned him over to the KGB.

In an interview in the German newsmagazine Focus, Rudolf Barak, the 82-year-old former Czechoslovak interior minister, said the KGB claimed Mueller later was murdered in a Russian prison by other Germans.

Mueller, one of the top Nazis whose postwar fate was never confirmed, was chief of the Gestapo from 1935 to 1945, and oversaw the extermination of European Jewry. He was the boss of Adolf Eichmann.

Barak, as interior minister from 1953 to 1961, headed the Czechoslovak secret services. Partially paralyzed from a stroke, he was unable to come to the phone for an interview with AP. But his son, journalist Pavel

Barak, confirmed that Barak had made the claim and quoted him as saying he spoke with Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev about Mueller in 1959, when Mueller was allegedly still alive.

Czech agents had located Mueller in Cordoba, Argentina, in 1955, and turned him over to the KGB in Prague the following year, according to Barak.

Serge Klarsfeld, the French Nazi-hunter, called Barak's story "absurd."

## Supreme Court defers decision on Buhbut appeal

EVELYN GORDON

THE Supreme Court yesterday deferred its decision on an appeal by Carmela Buhbut for a lighter sentence, but did not appear unsympathetic to her case.

Buhbut was convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to seven years in prison for killing her husband last year, after being abused for 24 years.

Justice Gavriel Bach noted that the case had two unusual elements: The state wrote an indictment of which "90% was a defense attorney's speech," and Carmela's husband's family all came down on her side,

and begged the court for mercy.

Her 19-year-old son, Eitan, told the Nazareth District Court she had endured suffering "I wouldn't have believed any person could endure," her husband's brother described her as "a genuine saint," her father-in-law said "my son was no good... [but] Carmela was like a daughter to me."

"This is unlike anything I have ever come across in my life," Bach said.

Initially, Justices Bach, Dalia

Dorner and Ya'akov Kedmi seemed a bit skeptical of the appeal.

"When the entire family is behind her [including three sons aged 17, 19 and 22]... there are other means [than murder] of dealing with the problem," Dorner said, anticipating the state's main argument against reducing the sentence: that it wanted to deter other battered women from thinking killing their husbands was "an easy solution" to their problems.

Bach added that by making the charge manslaughter, the state had already taken the special circumstances into account.

However, defense attorney David Spiegel's statement that Carmela had actually intended to commit suicide, but turned the rifle on her husband when he entered the room just as she was about to pull the trigger, significantly changed the picture if true, the justices said.

The psychiatrist's report submitted to the lower court indicated that she had considered both murder and suicide.

## Poll: Gaza support for Arafat drops sharply

JON IMMANUEL

SUPPORT for Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat dropped sharply among Gazans this month, according to a poll which attributes the change to disappointment with the emerging terms of the redeployment agreement.

The poll showed that support for Arafat across the territories declined from 55% to 49%, after rising steadily from 44% last November. The drop was much sharper in Gaza, from 64% in May to 52%.

Support for the proposed agreement on elections, redeployment and transfer of au-

thority won the support of 56%, compared with 66% for the Oslo accords. Support for the agreement in Gaza was even lower, at 50%. Among the young and educated a majority opposed the proposed agreement.

The poll, conducted by the Center for Public Research and Studies in Nablus, comes at a time when the general atmosphere has improved in Gaza. More people are employed, more public works are changing the physical face of Gaza, public sector employees are

receiving regular pay and Palestinian negotiators praise the seriousness of Israeli intentions.

However public opinion, as measured by the poll, indicates 80% do not trust Israel. Support for Fatah also decreased from 49% to 43%. The drop in support for Arafat and Fatah did not increase support for other personalities or groups, indicating that dissenters saw no alternative leadership.

The poll was conducted from July 6-9 among 1109 interviewees. It has a 3% margin of error.



Rescue workers remove the body of a victim from the rubble of Seoul's collapsed department store yesterday. The accident has left 340 people dead and more than 900 others injured. (AP)

## Serbs close in on Zepa

SARAJEVO. (Reuters) - Bosnian Serb soldiers backed by tanks advanced against light resistance to within 1,500 meters of the centre of the UN-designated "safe area" of Zepa yesterday, a UN spokesman said.

"Bosnian Serb infantry supported by tanks and heavy mortars are within 1,500 meters (almost one mile) of Zepa," UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko told Reuters in Sarajevo.

"They're approaching from the west. The troops are in front and the tanks are behind the line firing. We have NATO air presence over the area... from what we understand there's not much (Bosnian government) resistance."

The UN earlier had reported Serb forces within 500 meters of Zepa but revised its estimate based on later radio reports from Ukrainian peacekeepers charged with protecting the area.

Ivanko said the Serb advance appeared to have halted, at least temporarily, by late Sunday afternoon. He reported Serb infantry was backed by at least two tanks and eight 120 mm mortars in Sunday's fighting.

Although NATO officials in Naples, Italy confirmed a UN request for air presence over Zepa had been received on Sunday afternoon, they declined to discuss operational details.

NATO jets flew several combat missions in support of Dutch troops protecting the "safe area" of Srebrenica last week but the pocket fell to Serb forces on Tuesday anyway.

About 15,000 Bosnian Moslems are believed to be trapped in Zepa, a remote and rugged mountain enclave which has been surrounded by Serb forces throughout the 39-month Bosnian war.

UN officials estimate only 600 to 1,000 Srebrenica residents could be counted as soldiers of any sort. Bosnian army troops disarmed the three remaining Ukrainian observation posts on Sunday morning in an effort to gather more weapons for the town's defense, Ivanko said.

The fall of Zepa in the same week as 40,000 Moslems were rounded up and expelled or imprisoned in Srebrenica would seriously threaten the Bosnian peacekeeping mission, already undermined by a lack of unity among contributing nations.

## Italians show support for Di Pietro

BRESCIA, Italy (Reuters) - About 300 people demonstrated yesterday in support of former Italian magistrate Antonio Di Pietro, a folk hero for his attack on political graft who now has to defend himself from allegations of corruption.

The protesters in the northern Italian town of Brescia included scores from Di Pietro's home town of Montenero di Bisaccia, 700 km away in the southern Molise region.

"Hands off the magistrates, hands off Tonino," shouted the demonstrators.

## India makes contact with Kashmiri kidnappers

SRINAGAR, India (Reuters) - Indian authorities have established contact with a Kashmiri separatist group holding five Western hostages, opening the way for possible negotiations, a senior police source said yesterday.

The source told Reuters telephone contact had begun with the little-known Al-Faran group, but that no detailed discussion had yet taken place.

Negotiations may begin today, the source said. Today is the day the kidnappers have threatened to kill their hostages.

An Indian government source confirmed contact had been established but said the talks so far had not been fruitful.

Indian officials said New Delhi was not likely to accept Al-Faran's demand that 20 jailed militants be released in return for the hostages.

Al-Faran, holding the captives in a Himalayan hideout, released photographs of the five hostages yesterday against a backdrop of a glacier and pine trees.

Al-Faran said on Saturday it was ready to consider appeals for the release of the hostages if human rights groups and the world community applied pressure on India to meet its demands.

But it reiterated its threat to kill the captives if its demands were not met by today. An earlier deadline had at first been set for Saturday evening.

# JERUSALEM CORRIDOR EMERGENCY APPEAL

Support The Jerusalem Post Funds Emergency Appeal to restore the communities and forests of the Jerusalem corridor. The appeal will run until Tu BiShvat, February 5, 1996.

## THE PROBLEM:

The fire, the worst in the country's history, which devastated the Jerusalem Corridor last week, destroyed dozens of homes, community properties and businesses, killed hundreds of animals, domestic and wild, injured nearly fifty people, and ravaged thousands of dunams of prime forest between Sha'ar Hagai and Neve Ilan.

Some 2 million trees were destroyed, and the forests - some planted even before the founding of the State - will take decades to return to their former glory.



## THE SOLUTION:

We appeal to our readers and friends around the world to rush donations as quickly as possible, so that they can be used in the great rebuilding plans now being drawn up for this area. The management of The Jerusalem Post Funds is allocating monies to help Shoresh and Neve Ilan rebuild community projects but millions of shekels are needed to clear the devastated areas, rebuild and repair the picnic and leisure sites, and plant trees. We appeal for your support.

Send checks to: The Jerusalem Post Funds/Emergency Appeal, The Jerusalem Post, POB 81, Jerusalem 91000. Or phone, or mail a VISA credit card donation to Fax. 02-241212. More information from Beverlee Black, 02-233986.

הכזא מן אלאל



WHEN Australian-born dancer-choreographer Lloyd Newson snapped a tendon in his ankle a year ago he didn't suspect that the six weeks he spent in the hospital would form the basis of another dance work.

Now *Enter Achilles* is about to be performed here, by a company that makes the headlines wherever it appears.

In 1986 Newson moved from his native land to Britain, where he founded DVS, a dance ensemble that is daring, provocative and very physical.

In its local debut, the company is presenting a work that, above all, deals with the meaning of masculinity.

"When I was in hospital all my female friends came and supported me, but all my male friends did not come. It made me curious why the men had difficulties. I began asking some questions and did a lot of reading and found out that a lot of books were written about masculine relationships, non-sexual masculine relations that is."

These books, he suggests, "are



'Enter Achilles' reflects Lloyd Newson's interest in how people use and abuse power.

nothing more than an attempt to find another male friend to be close to and intimate with like you can be with a woman."

Newson notes that "I'm gay and most of my friends are gay

## Dancing around sexual politics

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

but this is all beyond sexuality per se."

Males who believe they have power are in a state of illusion, says Newson. "Unless a traditional heterosexual man goes through a crisis he is in apparent power - apparent because men don't have power at all; men are always told how to walk, dress and talk in a certain way. If you don't follow these rules you immediately become different, alien."

Newson finds the comparison with women fascinating.

"On a behavioral level women can do more now. Men are not working in traditional female jobs, but women are crossing over."

Newson, 38, does not attempt to provide answers. "It's more interesting to ask and present... questions and see how people react to the traditional stereotypical male image which we present

as a parody."

Although he seems to reach women much more easily than men with this work, Newson says: "It is enough for me that men will start thinking about these issues: How strong is a male relationship? Can friendship exist between males regardless of their sexuality? If something really happens to you would it be a man or woman to be there supporting you?"

Newson stresses that *Enter Achilles* is not about homosexuality.

"This is a work about men but not about gay men. Most of my works are about relationships, very few movies are not about that. But I don't make love stories, I'm very skeptical about love anyway. I'm much more interested in how people use and abuse power."

WHEN NEWSON moved to Britain he found it rather tough to find male dancers.

"The way dancing is considered, male dancers are embarrassed. And if you move your hips or move your body too much in public you are at once considered queer."

"You have to go to gay clubs to be yourself and then you become the alien, the non-masculine, which means homosexual, even if you are not and you simply like to dance."

*Enter Achilles* also deals with the effect alcohol has on men. "When men get drunk, they show their true feelings, and their behavior becomes wild, silly and playful. Drinking allows them to release suppressed emotions. "Drunk women behave differ-

ently. The volume, vocally, physically and emotionally, is different. Men hold on to emotions so much that their release comes out as an explosion which can be liberating and highly destructive at the same time."

Newson tries to challenge all existing stigmas in the dance world. He does not believe, for example, that dance is just for young people.

"I'm bored with seeing gorgeous 18- to 19-year-old men trying to tell me about love. I want the perspective of someone who has had a larger experience of love. And I'm interested in what happens to your body and how people feel about their bodies changing."

"But today the realms are opening. NDT 3 [a troupe affiliated with the Netherlands Dance Theater] has dancers over 40. It's a good beginning but I also want

to see a company with dancers over 50. Most of my dancers are over 30."

Newson, 38, argues that dancers should question the meaning of movement and try to become individuals on the dance floor.

"I was used as a pawn for many years. You are never asked or questioned and that was very oppressive. In dance, people want to see similar body types which is inherent in the fascism of dance training. I bring people from diverse backgrounds and I'm interested in nontraditional dancers who move like themselves and are not imitating those beside them."

Newson never imposes movement on his dancers. "I'm always involved in the artistic direction, but it's a very democratic process. [I am] accountable to the dancers and they are accountable to me."

DVS performs *Enter Achilles* at the Tel Aviv Performing Arts Center from this Friday through Wednesday. It is an 80-minute piece, danced without a break.

"I never had an intermission," says Newson. "I'm afraid I'll lose people."

## Jazzing up summer's end

HELEN KAYE

FUSION, free. bop, rock, jazz, Latin or a mix, there's something for every jazz fan at this year's Red Sea Jazz Festival in Eilat from August 27-30.

Mongo Santamaria and his Latin Band, sensational young saxophonist Joshua Redman (who quit Yale Law School to play full time), whistling Toots Thielmans from Belgium, US legends McCoy Tyner on piano with vibraphonist Bobby Hutcherson, guitarist Scott Henderson, drummer Billy Higgins and bass player Dave Holland (who's making a return visit), are some of the big-name 11 guest soloists and combos coming from abroad.

There will be at least one emotional reunion as Czech-born saxophonist Jaroslav Jakubovic meets up with former Czech Army Band buddy Jan Konopasek and his West Coast Renaissance Band from the Czech Republic, all playing with the Dani Gottfried Trio.

Among the 12 ensembles of purely local performers are the Eilat Big Band led by Vladimir Gabai; Avi Piamenta (flute), and his combo in a program called *The Sounds of the Desert*; Jada, which is the name clarinetist Harold Rubin has given to his quartet; and the energetic young Lemon Juice Quartet with Eyal Maoz on guitar, Yoni Silver on alto sax, Gabriel Meir on bass and drummer Yoav Zohar.

The Israeli ensembles all have a single concert, mostly during the daytime hours, with evening prime time reserved for the visitors. They have either two or three concerts apiece.

Eilat's port is the main festival venue. The winner of the Young Jazz Combo competition to be held at Beit Liessan on July 23 will open the traditional nightly (free) jam sessions around the pool at the Riviera Hotel, where the artists are staying.

The NIS 2.2 million budget comes from the Eilat Municipality, the ministries of tourism and science and the arts, together with private and corporate sponsors. "Jazzhav" (a play on words meaning golden jazz) season tickets to the entire festival cost NIS 440. Daily Jazzhav tickets go for NIS 190. Concerts by local artists cost NIS 49, while the price for hearing the visitors is NIS 85.

## Starring: The Big Apple

DIE HARD WITH A VENGEANCE

FILM REVIEW  
ADINA HOFFMAN

★★★

Directed by John McTiernan. Screenplay by Jonathan Hensleigh. Hebrew title: *Mei Lihivot III*. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Children under 17 not admitted without an adult.

John McClane ..... Bruce Willis  
Simon ..... Jeremy Irons  
Zeus ..... Samuel L. Jackson

Balding wise guy Bruce Willis is upstaged once and for all in *Die Hard with a Vengeance*, his third turn as scrappy police detective John McClane. And it's not costars Jeremy Irons or Samuel L. Jackson who grab attention from Willis.

No, the real star of *Die Hard with a Vengeance* is without a doubt New York City, which quickly announces itself to be much more than the movie's backdrop. From the first shot, of a powerful bomb blast at Bonwit Teller, the city gives the picture its plot, its nervous momentum and, for at least the first hour or so, its surprisingly mordant wit.

This is not, mind you, one of those loving Woody Allen odes to the isle of Manhattan, a tasteful picture in which stirring *Gershwin* music is played as the camera gently scans the corners of the homes on Central Park West. And it's not a rough-and-tumble jaunt around Scorsese's city, either, that seamy network of darkened streets that team with freaks and thugs and well-dressed mafiosi.

AS ITS title suggests, *Die Hard with a Vengeance* provides something much cruder and easier to fathom. It's a destructive fantasy of the Big Apple, the kind of sick scenario anyone might cook up while sitting in steamy midtown gridlock or waiting for an overdue A-train to arrive in the hellish August heat.

It goes like this: Imagine, just imagine what would happen if the city were terrorized by a neo-Nazi explosives expert and fortune hunter with thin, scowling lips, a short bleached haircut like Sting's, and squadrons of robotic Aryan hunkies!

Realizing New York's fun-house potential, director John McTiernan and screenwriter Jonathan Hensleigh are clever to place the action in the hands of the bad guy, Simon (Irons), who meets the above description.

Like a nightmare version of the Circle Line Tour, what Simon Says sends McClane and a black-separatist electronics whiz named Zeus (Jackson) on a hair-raising trip around the island. This begins in Harlem, where the white cop is forced to stand on a corner and wear a huge sandwich board smeared with racial epithets, or risk sparking another major detonation. (Each new task Simon concocts carries the penalty of an explosion if it's not executed perfectly.)

Zeus saves McClane from near death at the hands of his offended neighbors, but then can't help getting drawn into the action. This action offers a plausibly paranoid view of New York as a minefield, a bunch of disasters - World Trade Center bombings, Crown Heights riots - just waiting to happen.

A taxi cab careens across the grass and almost over the cyclists and picnickers in Central Park; a subway train derails and crashes into a twisted mass of ripped steel and fried wire; the Federal Reserve Bank vaults are popped open and emptied like a giant tin can; a fountain in Tompkins Square Park is host to a bomb, as is one select public school of the

thousands that crowd the island, etc. - all in one afternoon.

The first four or five of these urban catastrophes are tightly orchestrated and quite amusing, for the warped use they make of these familiar settings. McTiernan's camera work is simple and effective, and the charged racial dynamic between Willis and Jackson provides some needed dramatic energy.

Although Willis struts and smirks to excess, his Joe Blow demeanor draws us much more efficiently into the action than would the puffed-up posings of, say, a steroid machine like Van Damme. And Jackson is, as always, excellent.

In fact, the fine actor is almost too good for this part: One hopes he doesn't make a habit of playing the intelligent black sidekick to less-talented white men with thick necks and 5 o'clock shadows.

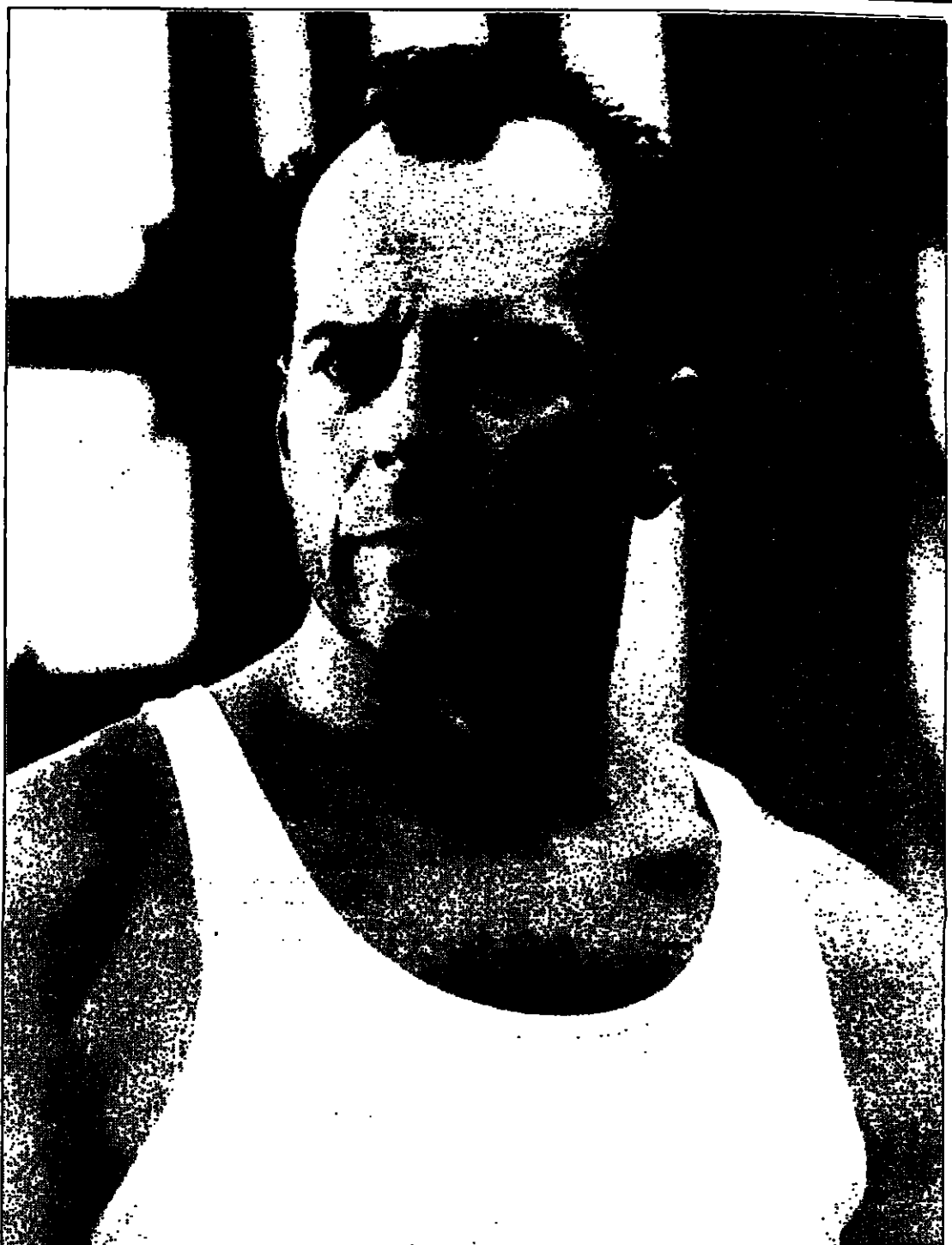
Irons's role is more explicitly silly than the others, and he plays the part for what it's worth, swishing this way and that in his tight little T-shirt or batting his eyelashes in a crazed send-up of everything perverted, megalomaniacal and German.

His performance might be offensive if it weren't so patently absurd.

Unfortunately, around the middle part, the film forgets the originality of its New Yorker premise and shifts into cruise control, like any old action movie. (Maybe the producers were afraid they'd lose the heartland crowd if they hung around Yankee stadium for too long.)

The requisite shootings and car chases ensue, as do the glib one-liners the star mutters obnoxiously before he snuffs someone out.

Still, as hot-weather diversions go, *Die Hard with a Vengeance* is fun and stupid and a little bit nuts - first-rate junk-food fare.



Bruce Willis is once again plays detective John McClane, this time chasing separatist thugs on a hair-raising trip around Manhattan island.

## New director: Kfar Blum will be 'adventure' not 'vacation'

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

TRADITIONALISTS beware. Devotees of the annual Voice of Music in Upper Galilee week, which has become rather stale over the last few years, are in for a surprise this summer.

Now entering its second decade, the event - better known as the Kfar Blum Chamber Music Festival - has a new director, Raphael Keenan, and quite a different look. If Keenan delivers the goods, the festival, which opens July 29, is about to enjoy a musical and artistic boom it has long deserved.

Keenan comes to Kfar Blum with an impressive record. The 50-year-old director, who began his career as an actor-singer, has just concluded a spell of several years as cultural attaché at the Israeli Embassy in Paris. Before that (1988-90) he served as assistant to the artistic director (Oded Kotler) of the Israel Festival.

Prior to that, Keenan held several positions at the *Ha'aretz* newspaper for more than a decade.

"It's frightening to enter a festival that has such a devoted audience. For this particular audience Kfar Blum is a real success. My challenge is to remain true to my artistic self and at the same time not to disappoint the faithful audience," Keenan says.

He has nothing but praise for Idith Zvi, who founded the festi-

val and was its artistic director during its first decade, but he is not going to imitate her. While past festivals centered on the tried-and-true chamber music repertoire, Keenan is looking for more.

"What excites me in a festival is the actual place in which the artistic director becomes an artist, when the artistic director is able to bring together two different bodies or musicians who did not know one another and create a third entity out of that meeting."

Keenan's motto is: "Surprise the audience."

He maintains that a festival must be an adventure. "I don't want to provide a vacation for music-lovers with the exact musical diet they are familiar with. My aim is to give them something different."

Indeed, this year's festival differs from past events in its program, its overall structure, and its focus on Israeli music.

The only thing that has remained intact is the basic infrastructure of an eight-day event in Upper Galilee in which chamber music lovers can enjoy free morning rehearsals and concerts later in the day.

Even this structure might change in the future.

"If people prefer to come during the weekend we might start the festival in the future on the

Thursday and run it over two long - Thursday to Saturday - weekends, for example, and avoid the midweek concerts. You have to listen to your audience," says Keenan.

THIS YEAR'S festival offers 16 different concerts, as opposed to the dozen of previous years. Aside from the opening night, there will be two daily concerts, while Friday's three performances enable those attending the final weekend to hear five different concerts.

Keenan has brought the Brindisi Quartet from England to become the festival's resident quartet. "You cannot have a chamber music festival without a string quartet, and it is virtually impossible to create [one] in two weeks."

At this year's festival the need is especially obvious due to its focus on the music of Leos Janacek, including several of his quartets.

"It's a pity that there is no real quartet in Israel, not to mention other leading chamber music ensembles. That said, there is some hope and you will hear that with the Young Jerusalem String Quartet. [It] might be our leading quartet of the future."

Keenan has also brought an early-music ensemble from

France. "But it's not a regular baroque ensemble - they also play Gershwin."

As to the Israeli musicians, Keenan notes that the roster features more than a few new faces this year. "There is a new generation of Israeli musicians and they deserve a stage. It does not mean that the old and familiar faces will not return, but this year the festival is for the new generation."

Of the 40-odd musicians taking part in this year's event, only 10 participated last summer.

The festival might also be for a new generation of music lovers, or, if Keenan has his way, music, theater, poetry and dance lovers alike.

He promises that each of the 16 programs is a production in itself. For example dancer Carolyn Carlson will perform two solos to the music of Gavin Bryars; at the Lorca evening, Yossi Banai will recite some of the Spanish master's poetry with Spanish music complementing the reading; and then there will be a Saturday morning concert devoted to Leonard Bernstein and George Gershwin.

Keenan is proud of the Israeli works he commissioned for the event from Moshe Zorman, Albert Piamenta, Menahem We-

senberg, Michael Melzer and Eitan Steinberg, whose music-theater opus *Princess of Five Faces* will receive its premiere at the festival.

"We have much more Israeli music than in the past, but the guiding line here is that we are talking about communicative music and not dissonant works."

Despite his commitment to changing the festival, it's not clear if Keenan will stay on. A few months ago he accepted an offer to become the general director of Omaniut La'am (which brings art to people in remote areas).

"I'm not sure if it's ethical that the Omaniut La'am director would also direct a festival," he says. "But even if this will be solved I'm not sure if I will have

the energy to create and run another festival with my new job."

Once he joins Omaniut La'am, Keenan will no longer be paid for his Kfar Blum work.

The 1995 Kfar Blum Festival runs from July 29 to August 5. Tickets always sell out quickly, but there are still some available for several of the events.

## SEE IT IN HEBREW HEAR IT IN ENGLISH!

THE VISIT OF THE OLD LADY  
July 18 at 8:30 p.m.

Modern classic by Friedrich Durrenmatt about the revenge of a millionaire on the lover who jilted her.  
"Most successful visit... irresistible"  
YEDJOT AHARONOT

SAVE  
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## New nonprofit association to govern JSO

AFTER six long years of extensive negotiations, the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra has finally managed to become an independent entity.

Last week orchestra and Israel Broadcasting Authority representatives signed an agreement by which all orchestra members still employed by the IBA will become employees of the new Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra Association.

The nonprofit association, comprising representatives of the IBA, the Jerusalem Municipality, the

Jerusalem Foundation and the Arts and Science Ministry, will manage the orchestra starting September 1.

The JSO will still feature the IBA name in its title and the IBA will continue to record and broadcast all of its concerts.

The association management was promised that the change will facilitate greater monetary support from the municipality and other financing bodies.

Michael Ajzenstadt



# THE JERUSALEM POST

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## The Syrian about-face

AMERICAN sources - a euphemism for senior US officials involved in the negotiations with Syria - were upset at the weekend by the new Syrian condition for the talks' continuation. It was not so much the terms Syria's dictator Hafez Assad was now demanding, they say, but that he has broken his agreement with Secretary of State Warren Christopher, thus tarnishing his reputation as a man of his word.

No wonder, then, that Christopher hastened to downplay the Syrian move yesterday, calling it a technical problem and part of the hardened negotiator's bargaining tactics. He knows that only if Israelis are persuaded to believe in Assad's trustworthiness is there a chance that they will consider voting to relinquish the Golan. For this reason, both Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and former chief of the general staff Ehud Barak have extolled Assad's integrity and honesty. A clear Syrian breach of an agreement at this stage can only make the Israeli electorate more suspicious.

The trouble is that the premise of Assad's honesty is divorced from reality, one of the many baseless myths which have become part of the conventional wisdom. Assad has violated and broken major agreements with the Arab states, the US and Turkey. He is one of the world's most ruthless dictators, responsible for the mass murder of 20,000 people in Hama, the killing of 250 American marines in a suicide bombing, the killing of American captives, the kidnapping of innocent civilians in Lebanon, and the medieval torture chambers of Syrian intelligence. Only gullibility and wishful thinking can drive leaders of the democratic world to associate integrity, honesty and trust with his name.

What Assad hopes to achieve by changing his mind over early warning stations on the Golan is clear. Having witnessed Israel swooning over a hint he might allow such stations to operate, provided they were controlled by UN or forces friendly to Syria, he realizes he can probably achieve an Israeli agreement to scuttle the idea altogether. Israel has crossed so many red lines and made so many concessions deemed unthinkable until recently, that there is no reason to believe the relinquishment of ground surveillance will be different. There is, it must be admitted, undeniable logic in the Syrian claim that if Israel truly believes in peace with Syria, no such security measures should be necessary.

Moreover, in their eagerness to sell the evacuation of the Golan to the public, Israeli officials have been belittling the Heights' strategic importance. Indeed, if in the age of the missile topographic strategic assets have lost their value, what need is there for observation posts which warn of troop movements? No observers on the Golan can provide useful warning of the firing of ballistic missiles stationed in northern Syria which can reach any target in Israel.

But Assad hopes to achieve more than just another Israeli concession on early warning

stations. By canceling the meetings of high-ranking officers, he is taking yet another step away from direct negotiations with Israel. What he wants is negotiations with the US. He wishes to revert to the kind of shuttle diplomacy which made the contact with Israel strictly second hand. In this, too, he assumes that Israel will yield, despite repeated assertions by both Jerusalem and Washington that the days of the Kissinger-type shuttle are over.

His assumption is not unreasonable. The great achievement of the Madrid conference was that for the first time since Camp David, Arab regimes agreed to conduct direct, bilateral negotiations with Israel. This not only made the talks potentially more fruitful. It implied recognition of Israel's legitimacy as a sovereign nation and an equal.

But ever since Madrid, Syria has attempted to reverse this achievement - with Israel's acquiescence. Now American involvement is so deep that the administration considers the success of the negotiations a measure of its own prestige. And since it is always easier for Washington to twist Israel's arm, it will undoubtedly do its best to overcome the current "technical problem" by attaining another Israeli concession. That even at this stage Syria wishes to avoid open recognition of Israel should give the government pause.

Yet the government seems more concerned about other matters. Syria's latest display of intransigence elicited a strange response from Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. "There is a crisis," he said. "But I must say that nobody can place the blame on Israel...It is a crisis created by Syria...Perhaps the talks will resume, but meanwhile Syria is presenting many difficulties and is not taking into account that there is a time factor. Time is running out."

Peres has made it clear that by "a time factor" he means next year's US and Israeli elections. By pointing out this urgency, he encourages the Syrians to believe that as the time runs out, both Americans and Israelis will feel the domestic pressures more acutely and make concessions more readily to achieve results before the elections.

But this is not the only implication of the "time running out" warning. If Peres believes that he has the people's backing for the government plan to trade the Golan and the security zone in Lebanon for an agreement with Syria, there should be no problem of time. The electorate will presumably vote overwhelmingly for a government whose path it supports, and as soon as the election is over, the peace agreement can be concluded without haste or pressure.

That Peres is so concerned about time can only mean that he does not believe the electorate will vote the government in. Or he may believe that only an irreversible fait accompli will sufficiently impress the voters. Either way, to make fateful national decisions with this kind of deadline hanging over the negotiators' head is the height of folly.



Basic training

## Press out of proportion

THE most disturbing aspect of Yediot Aharonot's six-page report on the Tze'elim Bet affair, which has sent Israel's political world into one of its periodic feeding frenzies, is not the questions it raises about the army command, but those it raises about journalistic responsibility.

The newspaper makes two central charges:

• Ehud Barak did not offer aid (to the wounded). He flew off in his helicopter without taking wounded.

• There was a cover-up by senior officers, in which Barak was involved, so as to obscure responsibility for the fatally botched exercise three years ago in which five soldiers were killed and six wounded.

It was the first charge that caught the public's attention. Was Ehud Barak, one of the country's most decorated heroes, indifferent to the stricken soldiers? Had he been incapacitated by shock? Did he, in fact, flee the scene? The newspaper quotes two soldiers as saying that they called on Barak to help, but that he had not. Gen. Amiram Levine was quoted as saying: "Maybe he was talking on his cellular phone. Maybe he was in shock."

The jagged recollections of soldiers describing a stressful military action are familiar to anyone who has ever interviewed participants in a battle. Time is telescoped; the sequence of events is often reversed. Recollection of details is highly selective, and often distorted. The traumatized soldier is almost never in a position to offer a calm overview embracing the broader scene.

Before leveling an implication of faintheartedness against someone like Barak - a charge that would destroy his reputation if it stuck - a newspaper had better nail the allegation down every which

ABRAHAM RABINOVICH

charge, few would likely have bothered to read the article, which was largely a rehash of tedious charges and counter-charges previously made over who had been formally in charge of the botched exercise.

The newspaper, which acknowledges the help of the aggrieved families of the dead soldiers in gathering its material, was relying on very partial information to produce far-reaching implications. In doing so, it threw the story, headlined "The Big Whitewash," out of proportion.

Questions remain concerning the fatal exercise (a dress rehearsal for a highly secret commando operation), including the seemingly conflicting testimony given by Barak to two different panels. But it is important to maintain perspective.

Tze'elim Bet isn't about war criminals or proven incompetents, but about the best soldiers this country has. It isn't about serious structural defects in the military command revealed by the accident, but about an event that occurred in special circumstances connected to a highly unusual operation. The army has presumably not needed the press's help to draw the necessary operational conclusions.

If we are talking about moral lapses exposed by the Tze'elim investigations - officers adjusting the facts to save their own or their comrades' careers - or if it can be demonstrated that justice was not done, let these aspects be pursued, but with perspective and responsibility.

The principle casualty of sensational "exposés" like Yediot's is the credibility of the press. The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff. The views expressed are not necessarily those of the paper.

The 'expose' of Ehud Barak said more about shoddy journalism than about the former chief of staff

## Civil war

SUSAN HATTIS ROLEF

ONCE again there is talk about the danger of civil war.

This danger doesn't stem from the polarization of public opinion on peace with the Palestinians and Syria, or the future of the territories. A well-ordered democracy can tolerate such polarity.

The danger emerges when one (or more) section of the population proves unwilling to accept the rules of the democratic system, decides to disobey orders (in the case of the army), and actively resists the forces of law and order.

Last week's halachic ruling by rabbis ideologically identified with the settlers, added to other statements from Jewish right-wing circles in Israel and the US, is bad news for those from left and right who value democracy.

It has been encouraging to hear major right-wing figures coming out against the ruling and its implications. But one disturbing theme keeps recurring.

The government is wisely refusing to play into the hands of the rabbis

It is being repeatedly stated that though the ruling itself is objectionable, the government and its policies are to blame.

If only the government would change its policy vis-a-vis Syria and the Palestinians, it is argued, if only it would stop negotiating the return of territories to Arab sovereignty - a return that is certain to involve the dismantling of Jewish settlements in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and on the Golan - no one would advocate disobeying orders, or active resistance.

This, from those who claim to believe in democracy, is dishonest.

The government, firmly believing that the country's future and that of the Jewish people depends on peace with the Arab world - being achieved as soon as possible, accepts the fact that the price for this peace is territorial.

In addition to believing that most of the Arab world is now ready for a comprehensive regional peace, the government is convinced that the failure to achieve peace soon will result in fanatical Islamic forces, willing to use non-conventional weapons, gaining the upper hand in the entire region.

A Middle East settlement would not only reduce this danger; it would benefit everyone in the region, not least Israel.

THE OPPOSITION believes that the Arab world isn't really ready for peace, and that therefore the whole process is nothing but a sham, and Israel's agreement to give up territories an act of madness.

Within the opposition are also those - like the rabbis who issued last week's ruling - who believe that handing over stretches of land in Eretz Yisrael to the Gentiles is a sin, and against the wish of God.

Both positions - the government's and the opposition's - are legitimate, and history will judge which was valid.

What isn't legitimate, however, is for one side to brand the other with responsibility for the danger of civil war simply because it advocates a policy it believes to be correct, and, in the case of the side in power, attempts to implement it.

If anyone can be accused of leading the country in the direction of civil war, it is a group of rabbis, a minority among Orthodox rabbis in this country, who are instructing a significant body of soldiers and commanding officers to disobey orders, and who in future are likely to instruct the settlers to report to arms to resist the dismantling of settlements in the final stages of the peace process.

By refusing to play into the hands of these rabbis and avoiding prosecuting them for incitement to rebellion, the government is acting wisely.

At this stage, all the government should do is instruct the IDF to ensure that the followers of these rabbis within the army - those likely to obey the rabbis rather than their commanders - be posted far from the territories as possible when the IDF starts redeploying its forces there.

What is likely to occur when settlements start being dismantled? This will not begin before the next elections - at which time the Israeli public will state unequivocally whether it supports the government's policy.

The writer is a political scientist.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### NO IMPROPRIETY

Sir, - In their column of July 10, Evans and Novak severely criticize Benjamin Netanyahu, leader of the Likud, for communicating his views by fax to the US Congress. Evans and Novak imply that there is something wrong in principle with this direct communication between the leader of a foreign opposition party and the US Congress. Yet, the impropriety would be Netanyahu saying nothing when he has important insights concerning topics important to the bilateral relationship between the US and Israel. Simply put, it would be improper not to respond.

Evans and Novak tell us that "Rabin has privately advised Clinton that a small military presence, similar to the force that has patrolled the Sinai since the Camp David accord in 1978, is essential to sell Syrian peace to Israeli voters." Netanyahu demonstrates his concern over relations between the US and Israel by having anxieties over an American presence on the Golan as it counters the will of both the American and the Israeli electorate. This is not a partisan issue as Netanyahu understands that it deserves serious consideration by Congress. Whether for or against an American presence, one should be in favor of due deliberations by the American Congress and allow them to serve in their chosen capacity.

The same approach holds true for the issue of using US tax dollars to assist in creating a Palestinian infrastructure in Gaza and Jericho. Whether the US funds are used or abused is a subject for careful Congressional analysis leading to approval or rejection.

Any Congressional analysis should consider what all involved parties have to say, whether it is the Israeli government, the opposition party, or any other group. These faxes shed light on the political re-

alities within Israel and the state of mind of many Israelis. The faxes do not criticize; they serve as an information vehicle and should be welcomed by all who are deeply committed to a just and lasting peace.

When Netanyahu calls for more congressional interest in this topic by placing information in the fax machines of congressmen, he is performing a valuable service for Israel-American relations and it should be recognized as such.

MURRAY KAHL  
Palm Beach, Florida.

### ISRAEL'S NATIONAL FLAW

Sir, - Nathan Sharansky's plans to establish a Russian immigrants' party speaks to the fundamental problem which is at the root of Israel's national flaw. The reason for the proliferation of parties is due to the fact that the ones that exist fail to represent their constituents. Witness the political opposition to direction elections.

This situation developed because the Zionist founders did not understand the symbiotic relationship between the governed and the governing. Thus the concept of "the consent of the governed" has never penetrated the Israeli psyche and is the source of much of Israel citizens' frustration with the direction of the governing elites. Ironically, Israel is a paternalism whereas Judaism advocates a decentralized rabbinic system which encourages individual responsibility.

As long as the political system functions independently of geographical constituencies, Israel's self-destruction will continue. Sharansky would be better off working to reform the entire system rather than adding another coal to the burning fire. MARC BAKER  
Birmingham, Michigan.

### BIRDS OF A FEATHER

Sir, - I was amongst the several hundred governors of the Hebrew University who gathered recently to listen to A.B. Yehoshua's address at a symposium on the subject "Israel: Diaspora relations." It was a disquieting and distressing experience.

About a year ago, writer Aharon Megged published a lengthy article in which he forcefully excoriated and debunked many of our so-called intellectuals, writers, playwrights, academics and journalists who have engaged in the practice of denigrating and denigrating to our people. Nothing was sacred, Zionism, Jewish tradition, achievements in the Jewish state, the Hagana, the Israeli army, the early pioneers, et al. - all these came under the "intellectual" axe.

Megged mentioned but a few of these writers, though it is evident that he wished to spare some of his contemporary colleagues guilty of propounding the same or similar concepts. Megged mentioned Ze'ev Sternthal, Yigal Eyalim, Yehoshafat Harkabi and other academics slavishly imitated by journalists and politicians who regard stressing religion, culture and emotional affinity to the Land of Israel - the most important rationale for our existence here - with sheer contempt. They see it as contaminated by nationalism, fundamentalism and even fascism.

Did not Mr. Yehoshua, in an interview published in an American magazine, term Israeli silence on the oppression of the Palestinians comparable to the silence of the Germans during the Nazi era? Judging by his statements at the symposium, he is a classic example of Megged's purposeful intent.

SOL LIEBGOTT  
Jerusalem.

## Rabbis' halachic boomerang

JOSHUA BERMAN

LAST week's halachic ruling bears testimony to how little the religious-Zionist leadership really understands the current public mood.

As an Orthodox rabbi who lived in Judea for a decade, I am eager to see as much of Judea and Samaria as possible remain in our hands. I fear, however, that far from securing Jewish control over the area, the rabbis' misunderstanding of their political weakness is likely to result in a halachic boomerang.

What were the rabbis hoping to achieve? Perhaps they hoped that their collective voice would encourage widespread disobedience, forcing the government to reconsider its position. But a realistic consideration can only conclude that this will not happen.

Many leaders of the religious Zionist camp joined Chief Rabbi Lau in denouncing the ruling. They included several heder yeshiva heads, the spokesmen of the Religious Kibbutz Movement, Rabbi Yoel Bin-Nun, a settlement leader, and former National Religious Party MK Yehuda Ben-Meir.

This is Israel, not Berkeley in the late '60s. Israel's political culture may have a Gandhi, but it has no tradition of non-violent confrontation. The number of soldiers who disobey orders may reach several hundred, maybe even more. But if the government orders bases dismantled, dismantled they will be, ruling or no ruling.

Beyond miscalculating their own political clout, the rabbis have forfeited the commodity they most desperately need: broad public

support. In the approaching debate over what to keep and what to dismantle, nearly every settlement will be threatened. To hold onto as many as possible, we need to garner the support of a wide spectrum of Israelis, not merely those from our own ranks.

They have forfeited what they most need: public support

Even after Dizengoff, Beit Lid and Kfar Darom, the head count at the recent rally in Kfar Sava against the government's plan to withdraw from Judea and Samaria revealed far more heads with knitted kippot than bare heads.

TODAY, the wider public views the religious Zionist community with growing contempt, even loathing. The rhetoric has recently been upped several notches, as nationalist rabbis have become "antisemites" (Yossi Beilin), or "ayatollahs" (Yitzhak Rabin).

It is within this already heated environment that the rabbis have now added, not coals to the fire, but canisters of explosive fuel.

As every publicist knows, it isn't what you say, it's what they hear. And what the public heard last week was an unprecedented assault on the democratic character of the state, an undermining of the army, and, by extension, of the existence of the country. It heard a

rabbinic call whose encore could be civil war.

Rabbi Nahum Rabinovitch, head of the heder yeshiva in Ma'aleh Adumim, explained that if the ruling awakens the public and the government, it will have served a purpose.

The rabbis presented their case with a Bible in a raised hand. But in the public perception there was neither a Bible, nor a hand - only a raised middle finger.

I write these lines while on reserve duty in a small settlement named Metzad in the Judean desert. The people here are pious, and love the land of Israel. Why should broader Israeli society wish to hold onto Metzad, if its champions stand for sedition, anarchy and fanaticism?

The ruling sought to protect settlers, but it actually harms them. The rabbis' argument is for conscientious objection - Rabbi Hayim Druckman said the ruling was meant to be heard by every Jew.

Well, secular Jews heard it too, of that Rabbi Druckman can be sure. They heard a rabbinic permit to place conscience over consensus.

If religious soldiers are allowed to disobey orders to dismantle bases, it won't be long before many secular soldiers are refusing to serve in Judea and Samaria.

In taking halachic aim against army discipline, the religious-Zionist leadership has shot itself in the foot.

The writer is a lecturer at Nishmat - Center for Advanced Jewish Study for Women.

Withdrawal  
Honor

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JUSTICE

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## Withdrawal Symptoms

# Honor, Too, Is Put to Flight in Bosnia

By ROGER COHEN

PARIS  
MANY things have died or been seriously compromised in Bosnia. The optimism of the cold war's end. The credibility of NATO. The American commitment to European security. The notion that a Europe no longer divided shares a commitment to basic human dignity. But perhaps the death of Western honor has been the most devastating.

It was a sense of honor, conceived as part of a military culture that also embraced the values of self-sacrifice and unswerving courage, that drove American boys into Nazi fire and onto the Normandy beaches. The same values were the guarantee and the bedrock of postwar security and prosperity in Western Europe. Even in Vietnam, where America's confidence in itself was battered, the honor of fighting to extend the reach of freedom stood at the core of the beliefs of those who backed the war. But where lies the honor, or the commitment to anything, amid the Bosnian morass? Forty months into the war, the sight in recent days of still further thousands of Muslim women and children pushed over the Bosnian hills by the Serbs after the fall of the so-called United Nations "safe area" of Srebrenica was a reminder of how far the West has fallen in Bosnia. The number of Muslims thus shifted during the war now exceeds three-quarters of a million.

### A 'Lack of Values'

This defeat — for the mixed society of Bosnia is now in shreds — has its political and military implications; but in themselves these are perhaps not overwhelming. Bosnia is a small country of no compelling strategic significance or wealth. It is the defeat of Western values in this ill-born state that may prove most costly.

Indeed, the question of what, if anything, Western democracies stand ready to defend has to be posed. In an essay on Bosnia published this week, Jean Baudrillard, a French sociologist, wrote, "What the West now wants to impose on the whole world, under the cover of universality, is not its values, which are completely disjointed, but precisely its lack of values." In the name, he added, "of an indifferent and valueless world order."

Of course, Europe and America



Associated Press

The United Nations' failure to protect Srebrenica leaves open the question of what principles it will stand up for. A French peacekeeper peers from his bunker in Sarajevo.

know from two world wars that the Balkans are intractable terrain, and the argument that involvement in the Bosnian war would have been folly cannot be lightly dismissed. The war has been successfully contained until now, albeit at the cost of prolonging it. Many in the West also know that appeals to honor can sometimes prolong horrible mistakes, as in Flanders and elsewhere during World War I. But none of this

can alter the fact that the Western surrender before the destruction of Bosnia has revealed a hollowness at the heart of Western societies. There have been individual acts of courage in Bosnia. One of the most conspicuous occurred in Srebrenica in March 1993. Lieut. Gen. Philippe Morillon, then the commander of United Nations forces in Bosnia, went to the embattled Muslim enclave and declared that he would not

move until the survival of its people was assured.

Like most examples of bravery, and some of outstanding leadership, it was an irrational act. In the name of military principles, including the sacredness of the mission and personal honor, this French officer identified his own life with those of tens of thousands of Muslims, most of whom had already lost their homes to Serbs and been herded into Sre-

brenica. Confronted by this stubborn general, the Bosnian Serbs desisted from their onslaught and Srebrenica survived for another 28 months. Srebrenica was called a haven, although it was in essence a large camp.

### The Freshly Bereaved

Still it was better than the kindergartens, schools and rundown shelters in Kladanj and Tuzla where old

Muslim women who lost their husbands or sons in 1992 have lain almost prostrate with grief for over three years, to be joined this week by the freshly bereaved.

Srebrenica's fall last week was directly related to the fact that General Morillon's stand proved so unusual. Repeated climbdowns from tough stands have been the rule in

Continued on page 2

### Who Is the Enemy?

American troops are still in Japan. It's not always easy to say why.

By Nicholas D. Kristof

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### How the Code Cracked

The human brain's hunger for order is a fatal flaw for spies.

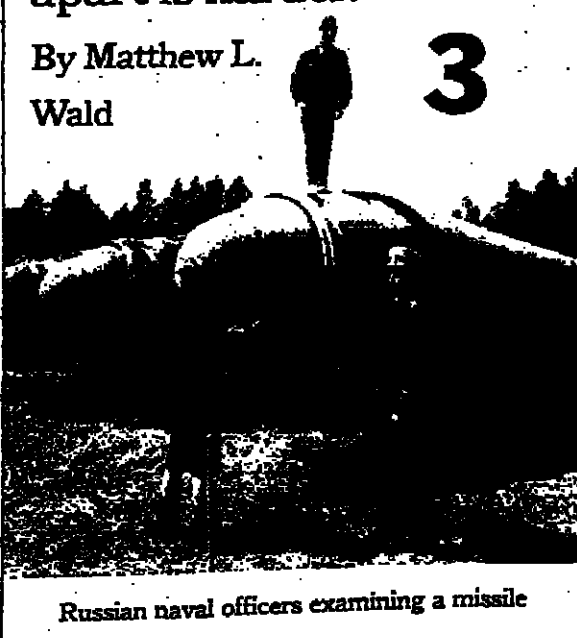
By George Johnson

4

The Nuclear Half-Century  
Building the bomb was hard. Taking it apart is harder.

By Matthew L. Wald

3



Russian naval officers examining a missile

### The New Bipartisanship

## Resolved: No More Bleeding Hearts

By ROBIN TONER

WASHINGTON  
ALMOST every week in Washington these days, liberal advocacy groups like the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities publish analyses of Republican budget cuts that show they fall disproportionately upon the poor.

Almost every day, some lonely liberal stands in the House or Senate, or takes the microphone in a congressional committee, and warns that the restructuring of poverty programs dating back 30 or 60 years will lead, inexorably, to the suffering of children.

But by and large, these voices are lost in the din. As Congress reviews the basic anti-poverty programs this summer, the argument that government has an obligation to the poor — and the old notion that Federal resources, wisely used, can transform their lives — sounds increasingly archaic.

### Compassion Redefined

Instead, Republicans on Capitol Hill — and many Democrats, too — are marching toward a tough new vision of social welfare in which the poor have an obligation to society. Personal responsibility is the catchword, embodied in an array of proposals to discourage behavior like out-of-wedlock births and to cure dependency by limiting help. Compassion has been redefined to mean liberation from the welfare system.

At times it seems a politician has nothing to lose by patronizing or even insulting those who receive Government aid. The Republicans' welfare overhaul is stalled in the Senate at the moment in large part because conservatives think it does not go far enough.

There probably never was a time when poor people were a truly powerful constituency on Capitol Hill. But there were times, notably in the 1930's and 1960's, when they had powerful champions. And rarely have the programs that served them — programs that for decades seemed part of the architecture of the American system, like food stamps and Medicaid and Aid to Families With Dependent Children — seemed less sacred than they do now.

The reigning ethos is what Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan calls "the great rhetorical inversion" of the Republican Party: that the current welfare system is such a failure, so faulty and so perverse in the behavior it encourages and discourages, that almost anything would be better. To cut or restructure it, by this line of reasoning, helps rather than hurts poor people. The Republicans argue, in short, that they are not blaming the victim; they are blaming the system.

"Year after year, generation after generation, we



Carrie Boreas for The New York Times

have enslaved these people," Representative William F. Goodling, Republican of Pennsylvania, declared on the floor of the House earlier this year. "Unless we make a change, they will never have an opportunity to get part of that American dream."

In his book "To Renew America," Speaker Newt Gingrich rails against "a welfare state" that "breaks up families, minimizes work incentives, blocks people from saving and acquiring property, and overshadows dreams of a promised future with a present despair born of poverty, violence and hopelessness." In contrast to the heavy hand of government, Mr. Gingrich writes approvingly of an earlier model of charity.

Some Democrats scoff at the Gingrichian inversion even as they recognize its power. "Poverty isn't the problem, A.F.D.C. is the problem," said Andrew Cuomo, assistant secretary for community planning and development at Housing and Urban Development (an agency that many Republicans want to abolish). "It's not starvation, it's food stamps. It's not homelessness, it's

public housing. That's how they define the problem."

But not many politicians want to defend the current system, mired as it is in chronic dependency and the breakdown of the family. This is the genius of the Gingrich approach to welfare: a choice between liberating change with the Republicans and suffering with the status quo under the Democrats.

### The Murray Principle

These ideas began bubbling a decade ago: the conservative Charles Murray, in his book "Losing Ground," argued that welfare and other anti-poverty programs caused more problems than they solved. Many liberals also began to rethink the welfare system, and by 1992 it was the Democratic Presidential candidate who promised to "end welfare as we know it."

Still, the argument that anything is better than the

Continued on page 4



## The World

# Drawing a Line In the Pacific

By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF

**H**ERE among the dazzling sand beaches and lush jungle on the island of Okinawa, 30,000 Americans serve on military bases, waiting for the enemy to strike.

But who is the enemy? And where? Answers to these questions do not come as easily as they once did. And so one of the questions for American foreign policy in the coming years will be whether to maintain 63,000 Americans at 94 military sites in Japan.

For now, the American and Japanese Governments agree that the American bases are essential for maintaining peace in Asia. But some voices, perhaps sounding the beginning of a long debate, suggest it is time the troops went home.

The stakes could scarcely be greater. If supporters of the bases are right, closing

### Critics of U.S. bases in the Far East say they are destabilizing.

them could promote arms races in Asia, encourage Japan to develop a powerful army with nuclear weapons, embolden China to be the regional bully and provoke devastating new wars.

"In my lifetime, the three major wars all started out here," said Walter F. Mondale, the American Ambassador to Japan. "We're trying to do it differently this time."

Mr. Mondale, whose background as Vice President and Democratic Presidential candidate was anything but hawkish, says he becomes more convinced daily of the need to maintain American troops in Japan. This is not a gift to Japan, he says, but a reflection of America's own interests.

But Chalmers Johnson, an American scholar of Japan, argues that the American military presence in East Asia is wasteful and actually increases the risk of war.

"It's an accident just waiting to happen," said Mr. Johnson, who, in the current issue

of Foreign Affairs, calls for cutbacks.

The debate about the American military presence seems much more immediate here on the southern Japanese island where Americans and Japanese hurled grenades at each other 50 years ago. American bases occupy 20 percent of the island, and polls show that at least two-thirds of Okinawans want the bases closed.

### Hot Pursuit

American paratroopers get a sense of the local mood whenever they practice here at Yomitan air field. Dozens of local people gather around the outside of the target field and detain any soldier who misses and lands on someone's front lawn. So there are undignified episodes in which an errant paratrooper rushes back to the base pursued by angry retirees.

"For 50 years we have been under de facto rule by Americans," complained Masaaki Aguni, director of Okinawa's military base affairs office.

As a college student in the 1960's, Mr. Aguni shouted slogans like "crush the American imperialists" and "Yankee, go home." But today the silver-haired Mr. Aguni's objections are practical, not ideological: the war planes make thunderous noise, the bases take up valuable farmland, the live artillery exercises — over a public highway — are dangerous.

Japanese as a whole, however, appear to support the American military presence. Polls have consistently found that more than 60 percent of those surveyed support the current security arrangements.

The Clinton Administration also is intent on maintaining a strong troop presence in Japan. Joseph S. Nye Jr., a Harvard scholar who is now Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, issued a report in February declaring that the Government will keep its current level of about 100,000 forces in East Asia.

Still, the Administration appears loath to emphasize what it regards as the two best reasons to keep forces in Japan.

The first is the painful truth that the American troops are in Japan not just because of deep bilateral trust but also because of profound mistrust.

When Col. Robert N. McEneaney of Kadena Air Base in Okinawa was asked to cite reasons why the American forces are neces-



Although Okinawans oppose an American military presence, most Japanese support it. Above, a fest at a U.S. air base in Okinawa.

sary, he did not pause. "What about the runaway rearming of Japan?" he asked. "If we had left after the Korean War, who knows? Japan might have rearmed and gotten nuclear weapons."

That thought terrifies Asia, which was traumatized by Japan's brutal rule of Korea and wartime invasions from China to Indonesia. Lee Kuan Yew, the senior minister of Singapore, expressed the region's mood when he said that allowing Japan to send troops abroad would be "like giving a chocolate liqueur to an alcoholic."

The Administration's second reason is concern about Russia's directions and, particularly, the rise of China's military, the world's largest army, with 3 million troops, and perhaps the fastest-growing budget.

Supporters of the bases believe they are all the more important these days since the closing of Clark air field and Subic Bay naval base in the Philippines in 1992. Yet critics note that despite warnings at the time, the withdrawal from the Philippines "didn't produce even a shiver of instability," as Mr. Johnson puts it.

Critics also question Americans' readiness to die over murky border disputes in Asia, or over the South China Sea lanes that Japan depends on for oil and other supplies.

Kumihiko Saito, the vice foreign minister, acknowledged that it is not easy to explain why Americans should risk their lives to defend Japanese sea lanes, while Japanese watch safely from afar. The answer, he said, has to do with the post-war agreement that Japan would refrain from developing a large army.

### 'Total Instability'

"If the United States does not implement the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and starts to say that Japan should defend itself with its own blood, that would possibly mean the end of the present security system," Mr. Saito said. "That would be unfortunate for us and for other Asian countries, and it would lead to total instability and disorder in security matters in Asia."

Mr. Johnson argues that the security relationship between Japan and the United

States is an anachronism, created when Japan was impoverished. Dependence on a foreign power for defense distorts the Japanese political process, he says.

Critics of the American presence object not only to the risk of American lives but also to the cash expense.

Throughout the cold war period, the implicit arrangement was that Japan would be America's unsinkable aircraft carrier in the Pacific. In exchange, America provided security and free access to its market.

Japan prospered, spending less than 1 percent on its military while the United States spent 5 percent or more. Although Japan has increased its contribution to the cost of the American presence, the figures are in debate. Mr. Johnson cites a study suggesting that the bases in Japan and South Korea cost \$35 billion a year, overwhelmingly borne by the United States. In contrast, by the United States' accounting, the \$5 billion that Japan pays annually covers about 70 percent of the cost of the forces in Japan, so that it is cheaper to keep troops in Japan than in the United States.

## U.S. Watches Out for Its Own. Well, Sometimes.

By ELAINE SCIOFINO

**W**HAT does Harry Wu have in common with Milton Meier?

Both are American citizens and both are behind bars in foreign countries because, among other things, they are accused of being spies.

But there the similarity ends. The differences between them underscore the arbitrariness with which the United States Government, the Congress, human rights groups and news organizations focus attention on Americans who get in trouble overseas.

Mr. Wu is a world-famous human rights advocate who is under arrest in China on charges that he entered the country under aliases, traveled to places not open to foreigners, spied, bought secrets, stole secret documents, carried them abroad and provided them to outside organizations.

But Mr. Wu has the full weight of the Clinton Administration and the Congress behind him. His wife, Ching Lee Wu, was welcomed at the White House and on Capitol Hill last week in her campaign to win her husband's freedom; both houses of Congress have passed resolutions condemning the Chinese in the case, and the Administration has warned that continued detention will keep the United States and China from having good relations.

### Americans know about Harry Wu. What of the others?

The seriousness of the matter was captured at a recent State Department briefing when the spokesman, Nicholas Burns, said: "We're not playing games. We are not politicizing the relationship. On the issue of Harry Wu, we're seeking justice for an American citizen."

Milton Meier does not enjoy the same high-level attention.

A little-known travel agent and businessman, he lived quietly in Iran throughout the revolution and seizure of the American Embassy, citing his love of Iran. But he was arrested in September 1982, and in April 1984 he was sentenced secretly to 24 months in prison and a \$285,000 fine after confessing, the Iranians say, to corruption

and charges of espionage.

His wife is an Iranian citizen who still lives in Iran and was a sister-in-law of the head of the Shah's secret police, who was executed in the early days of the revolution. So it is not surprising that she hasn't spoken out publicly about her husband's plight. The State Department says it knows little about why Mr. Meier is in prison, except to insist that he is not guilty of spying and to speculate that he got in trouble for business deals gone bad. News organizations have only fleetingly paid attention to him.

Officials and residents of Milpitas, Calif., where Mr. Wu lives, have tied yellow ribbons throughout the town; no one at the State Department seems to know where Mr. Meier comes from.

It is not that the United States Government is convinced that Mr. Wu is innocent and that Mr. Meier is guilty of something.

Mr. Wu, who spent 19 years in Chinese labor camps and is now determined to uncover and publicize their evils, has long said that during previous trips he penetrated more than two dozen Chinese labor camps under false pretenses. In most any country, that might be grounds for arrest, at least for trespassing.

"A question is what criteria should Americans use in evaluating a foreign legal system," said Stanley B. Lubman, a San Francisco lawyer and specialist in Chinese law. "On the one hand, we shouldn't judge another country's practice by our ideals. On the other hand, total relativism is unsatisfying and leaves us without the capacity to form judgments. The Chinese criminal code is badly drafted, because its definitions of crimes are vague and ambiguous. But some of the conduct that he is alleged to have engaged in could be defined as punishable under the laws of many Western countries."

As for Mr. Meier, the official Iranian media has said he was charged with links to "foreign intelligence officials" and had confessed to operating illegal trading



Harry Wu, in photographs, is a cause célèbre at home.

firms, collecting economic information and receiving bribes from foreign companies for information.

The Swiss, who represent American interests in Iran in the absence of diplomatic relations, have tried unsuccessfully to obtain a written verdict or a status report on Mr. Meier's appeal.

Mr. Meier's plight is not unique.

Through bad judgment or circumstances beyond their control or a combination of both, William Barloon and David Daliberti find themselves in a small cell in Baghdad. The two Americans were arrested after wandering over the border from Kuwait into Iraq last March, and have been sentenced to eight years in prison.

The Iraqis accused them of illegally entering the country; the two men, employees of American military contractors in Kuwait, insist that they strayed into Iraqi territory by mistake.

A pilgrimage to Baghdad by their wives was reported only briefly by news organizations. The Poles, who represent American interests in Baghdad, have been rebuffed since early April in efforts to visit the two men.

Unlike Mrs. Wu, Mr. Barloon's wife, Linda, expresses frustration with the United States Government, which she says has left her out in the cold. "I feel like this black curtain is drawn all the time," she said in May during a trip to Baghdad to visit her husband. "I get no information."

## Honor, Too, Is Put To Flight in Bosnia

Continued from page 1

Bosnia. The pattern was particularly conspicuous when the Serbs seized several hundred United Nations soldiers as hostages in late May after NATO air strikes near Pale.

Public declarations of unbending firmness were made by Western leaders at the same time as private evidence of utter pliability was being given to the Serbs through secret meetings and letters. The Serbs, no fools, drew their own conclusions and soon marched into Srebrenica, a town the United Nations had vowed to protect.

Shortly after the hostage crisis, Lieut. Gilles Jarron, a United Nations officer in Sarajevo and a proud member of the French Foreign Legion, described what happened during three weeks that he had spent with 11 other legionnaires surrounded at a United Nations weapons-collection site in Ilidza, a Serb-held suburb.

On May 27, the day after the second NATO air strike near Pale, 80 Serbs with rocket-propelled grenades approached the French soldiers, while a T-55 tank leveled its cannon at them. The Serbs gave the peacekeepers five minutes to give up.

Lieut. Jarron called his commanding officer. There was little question the legionnaires would all be killed in any battle. The last order he received from Col. Jean-Louis Franceschini was, "From this moment on, make sure that every French life is paid for dearly by the Serbs."

The legionnaires duly prepared to fight. "The honor of a soldier is to die with his arms," said Lieutenant Jarron. "We were all serene and determined."

Every evening, as the stand-off wore on and the Serbs failed to carry out their threats, the soldiers read each other the code of the legionnaire: "The mission is sacred. You execute it to the end, at any price. In combat you act without passion or hatred. You respect your defeated enemy. Never do you abandon your dead, your injured or your arms."

### Valor Undone

The honor of these men, standing under a United Nations flag and guarding a selection of Serbian artillery in a forlorn outpost, was conspicuous.

But it was also rendered preposterous by the institution they serve. Even then, the commander of United Nations forces, Gen. Bernard Janvier, was slipping off to clandestine get-togethers with Gen. Ratko Mladic, the Bosnian Serb commander, who had orchestrated the hostage-taking. After the crisis ended, the post was abandoned and the Serbs got the weapons in it.

But then, General Janvier is no longer a French officer in the sense defined by the

legionnaire's code. As a senior United Nations official, he has become the representative of a consensus so wide — a coalition so weak — as to be the enemy of leadership, individual courage and codes of honor.

It is here that America's absence from Bosnia has been felt most profoundly. America still personifies the confidence necessary to draw a distinction between right and wrong and then fight for it. Europe lacks the self-belief, the unity, even perhaps the relative innocence of an unconquered state, to do so.

Bill Clinton, as a candidate in 1992, was clear enough that essential values were threatened in Bosnia. He spoke of genocide and the dangers of sitting and watching. He suggested that he was ready to fight to stop the sort of ethnic purification that reached a new apogee at Srebrenica last week.

But then he shrank away, under a barrage of warnings of Vietnam-like quagmires, talk of ancient tribal rivalries, and the notion that the Bosnian war is purely a civil war. He committed himself, instead, to backing from afar: the effort to contain the war while distributing United Nations rice, and macaroni to Bosnians — that is, to the substitution of charity for foreign policy.

### Does Bosnia Exist?

The war has festered. A fundamentally racist attack on a mixed society, initiated from Serbia, has continued. Indeed, it began in earnest in early April 1992, not far from Srebrenica, when militiamen from Belgrade began shooting Muslims in the street in Bjeljina and Zvornik, so sowing the seeds of hatred necessary to destroy Bosnia.

For that is the core of the Serbian proposition: Bosnia, a state recognized by the United Nations, a mixed society, does not exist. Neither the United States nor Europe nor the United Nations have ever been ready to confront that claim.

By resuming full diplomatic relations with Vietnam last week 20 years after the fall of Saigon, President Clinton closed, a difficult chapter in American history. Vietnam was a defeat; but it came after a war undertaken, however disastrously, in pursuit not only of self-interest but of a principle: the fight against Communism and the defense of an American conception of freedom and human dignity.

In Vietnam, therefore, the often-repeated phrase — "withdrawal with honor" — was not entirely empty. A United Nations withdrawal from Bosnia, more likely after the fall of Srebrenica, could make no such claims. If a "bright shining lie," to borrow the phrase of John Paul Vann, is what sustained Americans in Vietnam, the peacekeepers in Bosnia have been offered less: a moral void.

Foreign Affairs

Time For Truth

The least bad peace in Bosnia

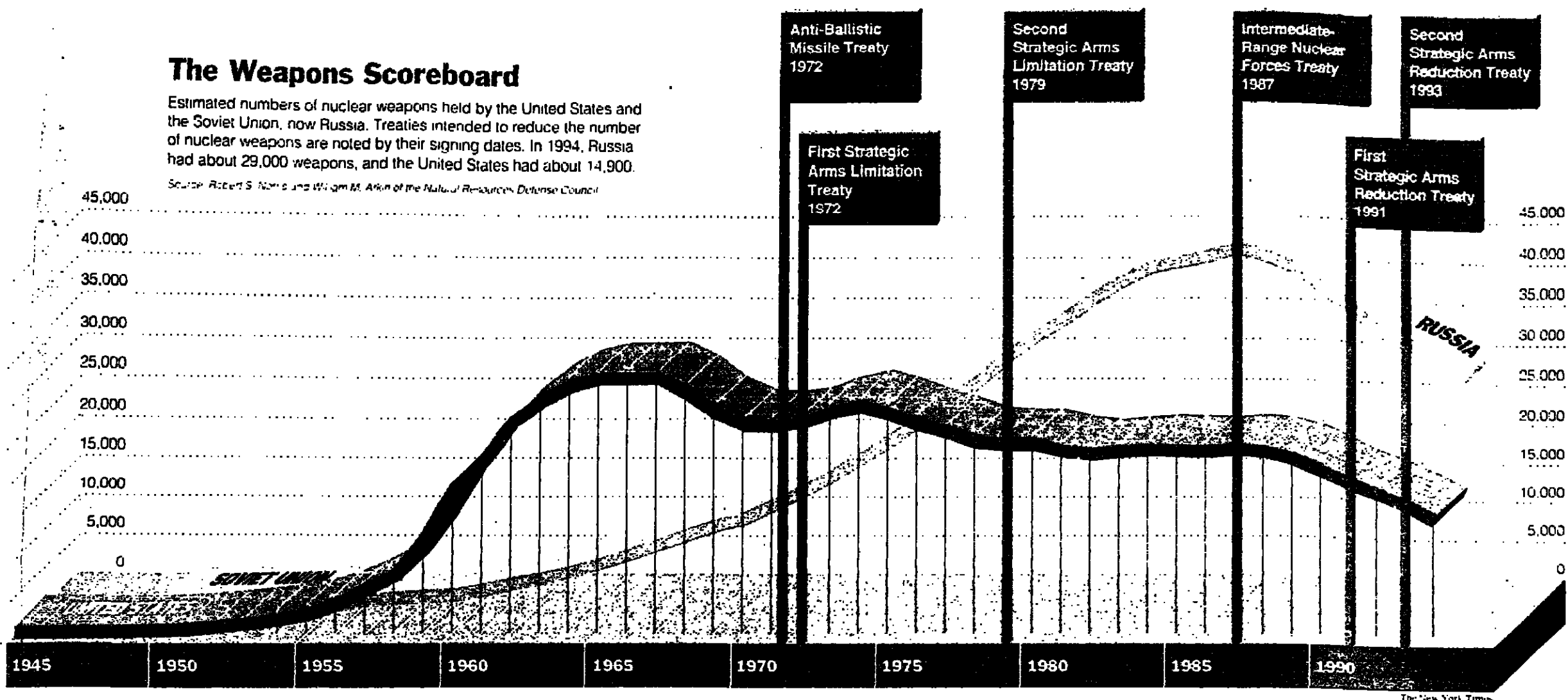
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## The Weapons Scoreboard

Estimated numbers of nuclear weapons held by the United States and the Soviet Union, now Russia. Treaties intended to reduce the number of nuclear weapons are noted by their signing dates. In 1994, Russia had about 29,000 weapons, and the United States had about 14,900.

Source: Robert S. Norris and William M. Arkin of the Natural Resources Defense Council



## Today's Drama: Twilight of the Nukes

By MATTHEW L. WALD

FIFTY years ago today, physicists detonated a nuclear explosive they called The Gadget, rigged on a 100-foot steel tower in the desert near Alamogordo, N.M. Since that first nuclear test, the United States has built 70,000 nuclear weapons of almost every conceivable kind: warheads, artillery shells, land mines, depth charges and even backpack-style plutonium explosives weighing 58 pounds but equivalent to 10 tons of TNT. And then there were plain old bombs, those bulbous things with tailfins, designed to be dropped out of airplanes.

But now it is the twilight of the nukes. They are being taken apart by the United States and the Soviet Union at the rate of 10 or 12 a day, and the new problem is how to keep track of them all.

Keeping tabs on nuclear weapons used to be easier: they were all sitting in the field and aimed at the enemy. Now there is no enemy and no clear role for the weapons, for either side.

When the Trinity test was done, on July 16, 1945, the new physics seemed to be in perfect alignment with the United States' military strategy and with its economy; it looked as if nuclear weapons could save both dollars and human lives.

Now there is a consensus that all the weapons that the United States pointed at its adversaries over the years — about 30,000 during the peak year, 1967 — did not make the nation any safer than the 8,750 operable weapons the Pentagon has today. Indeed, the thinking now is that the United States might be just as safe or safer with only 5,000 weapons at the turn of the century, and maybe with even fewer later.

### \$4 Trillion

The economic considerations have changed too. Nuclear weapons no longer look like the deal they once did. By one estimate last week, the United States has spent nearly \$4 trillion (in 1995 dollars) in nuclear weapons since 1945, an amount equal to one-quarter to one-third of all the money spent on defense since World War II. Included in the cost is a \$385 billion cleanup bill, most of it not yet spent. And whatever the theories were about nuclear bombs cutting down the casualties that

would have resulted from an American invasion of the Japanese home islands during World War II and later preempting World War III, now the feeling is that a big arsenal is not going to save anyone.

The physics exercise in progress now is proving difficult: taking back weapons from the field, taking them apart and making the nuclear fuel less weapons-ready. Then there is the question of just how far all of this should go.

Pulling back the weapons is proceeding apace. Five years ago the Soviet Union had nuclear weapons in 15 republics, in East Germany and in other parts of Eastern Europe, according to Robert S. Norris, a weapons expert at the Natural Resources Defense Council. Now they have been removed from all the republics, except for Ukraine and Belarus, and from the rest of Eastern Europe. "This is a logistical feat of enormous proportions," said Mr. Norris, "and they should be given great credit for doing it."

### Pile-Up at Pantex

For the United States, dismantling has proved more complex. Nuclear weapons have been taken off frigates, destroyers, cruisers, aircraft carriers and ships all over the world; now they remain only on ballistic missile submarines, said Mr. Norris. And the artillery shells and short-range missiles have been recalled from Europe.

Now the weapons parts are piling up at the Pantex weapons plant, near Amarillo, Texas, which used to be the final assembly point. And so, another problem brews. What will become of the components?

For a nuclear power, a mass of fuel sufficient for a bomb is just a few steps away from becoming a bomb again. And for nuclear wannabes — Pakistan, Iraq or smaller figures on the world stage — the situation is much the same. There is no longer any secret about how to build an atom bomb; the main challenge is obtaining the plutonium or uranium. Last year, radioactive material that was apparently of Russian origin turned up repeatedly in Germany, embarrassing Moscow and raising fears that stolen uranium or plutonium would be used to build new bombs.

In the hands of a physicist, neither plutonium nor uranium is immortal. The enriched uranium can be diluted, to a level suitable for nuclear reactors but not

bombs; that is what the United States plans to do with the uranium that it is purchasing from the Russians. But the Energy Department has not decided yet what to do with its own surplus uranium, now piling up at Oak Ridge National Laboratory, or with the plutonium building up at Pantex.

Plutonium is the harder problem. There are three leading options, none risk-free or cheap: The first is to bury the plutonium at the bottom of a deep well. Another is to mix the plutonium with molten glass, and possibly with highly radioactive waste as well, so that re-using the material would require complicated chemical reprocessing. A third option is putting the plutonium in power reactors, and fissioning it to make electricity. For now, though, the plutonium sits in bunkers at Pantex. At the Institute for Energy and Environment-

### The post-war years were spent hoarding nuclear weapons. Now it's time to put them away.

tal Research, in Takoma Park, Md., the president, Arjun Makhijani, a nuclear physicist and engineer, said, "The Department of Energy is extending its definition of interim to longer and longer periods. 'Before, 'interim' at Pantex was six to 10 years," he said. "Now they're talking about building 50-year storage facilities."

The issue at Pantex is not so much security as appearances. The Government could keep the plutonium secure in the bunkers, said Mr. Makhijani, but there are other problems. "I don't think we can afford to just park it," he said. "Parking it sends the message we could just build up to 20,000 weapons again."

The Energy Secretary, Hazel R. O'Leary, said this will not happen. "We're on a course to come to some real conclusions by next summer," she said in an interview. The trouble is that this large, expensive project must be taken on during what Mrs. O'Leary termed a "tumultuous season of dismantlement, downsizing, decapitation of the department." In such a climate, she asks, "Is the public likely to want to pay the price?"

### Russian Know-How

The Russians are now ahead of the United States in deciding what to do with their nuclear material. They are determined to use their plutonium in a new generation of nuclear reactors that would make yet more plutonium. The plan is to convert the bomb fuel, now pure metal, into plutonium oxide, and mix it with regular reactor fuel, uranium oxide, into a mixed oxide fuel known as MOX.

Unless or until that happens, though, someone has to safeguard the nuclear materials in Russia. There, as here, in a strange reversal of goals, weapons makers are now trying to revise systems that were designed for secrecy into systems that are designed to be transparent, to track the whereabouts of radioactive materials.

After a slow start, the two countries are learning techniques from each other and are working together to fence in some of the vulnerable materials. Last year, at the Kurchatov Institute in Moscow, for example, the Russians built a new fence around Building 116, which houses two test reactors and 75 kilos of fissile material. The fence, built with American technology, has microwave sensors and alarms and cameras. At the opening is a nuclear materials detector. At Obninsk, a laboratory that stores nuclear materials in hundreds of stainless steel disks, Americans have helped the Russians install a computerized inventory system and portal monitors, which, like airport metal detectors, sound an alarm when something suspect passes through.

In return for their help, the Americans have come home with some ideas from the Russians. One is a "passport" for containers of nuclear materials. The radiation output of a container is scanned to establish its radiation profile, which, like a fingerprint, is unique to that container. Then the container is marked with a bar code that links it to its profile. If the profile changes, a computer reading the bar code knows that the contents have been tampered with.

The Russians have also tested a piece of software called a "frame grabber," which analyzes video pictures for suspicious-looking characters. With a camera trained on, say, a corridor in a warehouse of nuclear materials, the Russian software discriminates between innocent passersby and thieves.

The Russians may also have a superior hand geometry reader, according to American experts. While American workers often use passwords or identification cards to gain entry to high-security locations, Russian workers stick a hand in a reader that confirms their identity.

### Sharing and Caring and Secrets

For all the sharing between Russia and the United States, though, there are still plenty of crucial secrets. The United States Navy believes it has the best fuel for propulsion reactors and it does not want the Russians to see it; hence Russians have not shown the Americans their nuclear fuel. And the Atomic Energy Act, a cold war era law, forbids the United States from disclosing the exact mass and geometry of the plutonium in its weapons. In return the Russians have kept that data about their weapons to themselves.

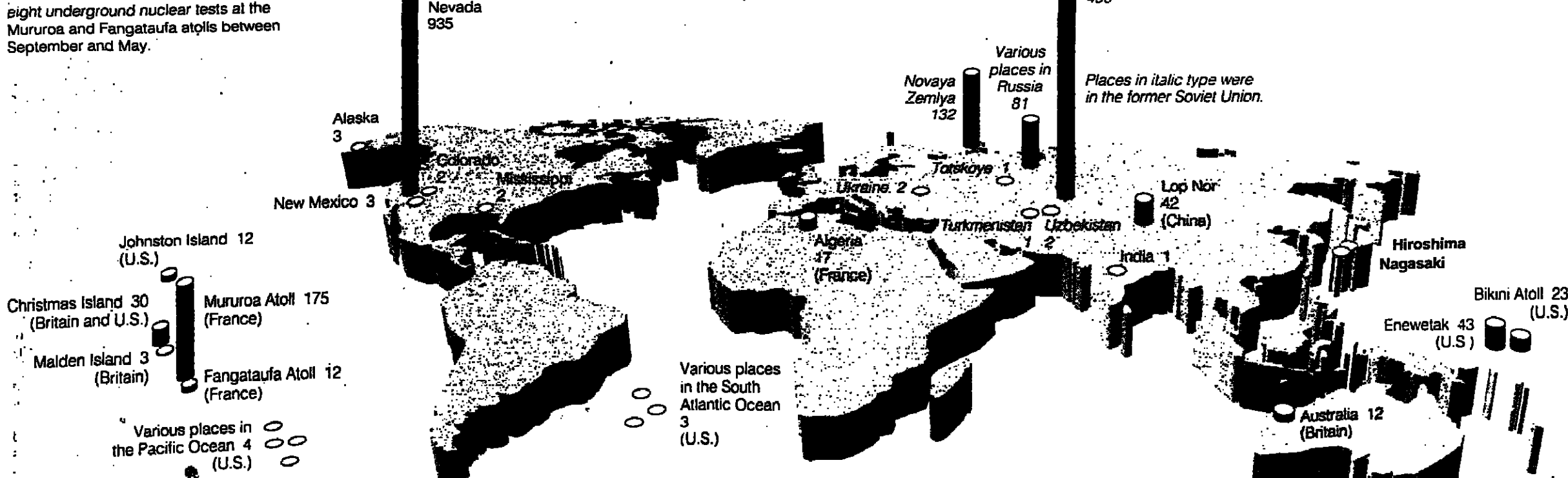
But when it comes to security of those secret materials, Russia and the United States have a lot in common to worry about. "I think that the Russians recognize that the security of weapons-capable materials is a serious problem and they're addressing it," said Charles Curtis, the Under Secretary of Energy. "It's going to take a lot of time and resources to address. In the interim," he added, "we're going to have to be lucky."

## Where the Explosions Have Taken Place

Known sites of nuclear weapon tests since 1945, and the total at each site. Hiroshima and Nagasaki are the only places nuclear weapons have been used in war.

Of the 2,037 nuclear detonations, 511 were above ground. The United States and Soviet Union stopped above-ground tests and agreed to stop underwater tests in the partial test-ban treaty of 1963. China was the last country to set off an above-ground nuclear test, in 1980.

France has announced that it will conduct eight underground nuclear tests at the Mururoa and Fangataufa atolls between September and May.



Source: Robert S. Norris and William M. Arkin of the Natural Resources Defense Council

The New York Times

## No More Bleeding Hearts

Continued from page 1

current system meets some important tactical needs for the Republican Party. Throughout its heyday in the 1980's, the party still had to worry about appearing hard-hearted. As President, George Bush promised "kinder, gentler" policies.

But the current debate reflects more than tactical considerations. To begin with, Congressional power follows people, and more and more of them are in the suburbs; the urban underclass, which is less likely to vote anyway, can seem distant and alien to those constituents — and the representatives they send to Congress.

"Often the only contact now is a very negative one," said the Rev. Joseph R. Hala, executive director of the Campaign for Human Development, the anti-poverty program of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. "It's getting off the subway and getting hounded by a homeless person who doesn't have an outlet for food or shelter."

This sense of "otherness" was evident in the House debate over the Republican welfare bill earlier this year. Representative John L. Mica, Republican of Florida, held up a sign that said, "Do Not Feed the Alligators" and noted, "We post these warnings because unnatural feeding and artificial care creates dependency." Representative Barbara Cubin, Republican of Wyoming, rose to draw a similar parallel with wolves.

Some Democrats, including Representative John Lewis of Atlanta, say race is a factor. "It's us and it's them," Mr. Lewis said. "It's the black poor, the Hispanics."

And doubts about welfare are aggravated when much of the middle class feels under siege. Bill McInturff, a Republican pollster who often advises Republican leaders, said: "One of the angriest focus groups I ever did was in Bangor, Maine, among working women. They said, 'Let me get this right. Every day I have to pay for child care, but people on welfare should get it for free?'"

This is a hard time to make the argument that many policymakers say ought to be made: that true "welfare reform" probably means spending money on child care and job training to allow the transition to work, and that curtailing Medicaid may only mean that poor people's health costs get shifted elsewhere in the system.

### No Organized Opposition

But that argument often goes unmade or unheard. "What shocks and surprises me is that while this revolution is taking place and taking prisoners there doesn't seem to be any organized opposition — certainly not in the Democratic Party," said Representative Charles B. Rangel of New York.

Privately, and sometimes publicly, many liberals mourn that their own party has failed to defend the Federal safety net, particularly the guarantee of assistance to every eligible poor family, known as an entitlement.

In fact, since the Democratic Party's devastating defeat in 1984, many party strategists have been consumed with regaining the allegiance of the middle class. Mr. Clinton was in many ways the apotheosis of that

school of thought: He ran on a promise to redeem the "forgotten middle class" in addition to putting welfare recipients to work.

His ideas on welfare were, to be sure, very different from the Republicans'. But some Democrats say he has been far too reluctant to challenge their proposals, particularly the plan to eliminate the Federal entitlement to assistance. Many other Democratic politicians are spending their political capital in the fight against Republican plans to curtail Medicare and other programs with large middle-class constituencies.

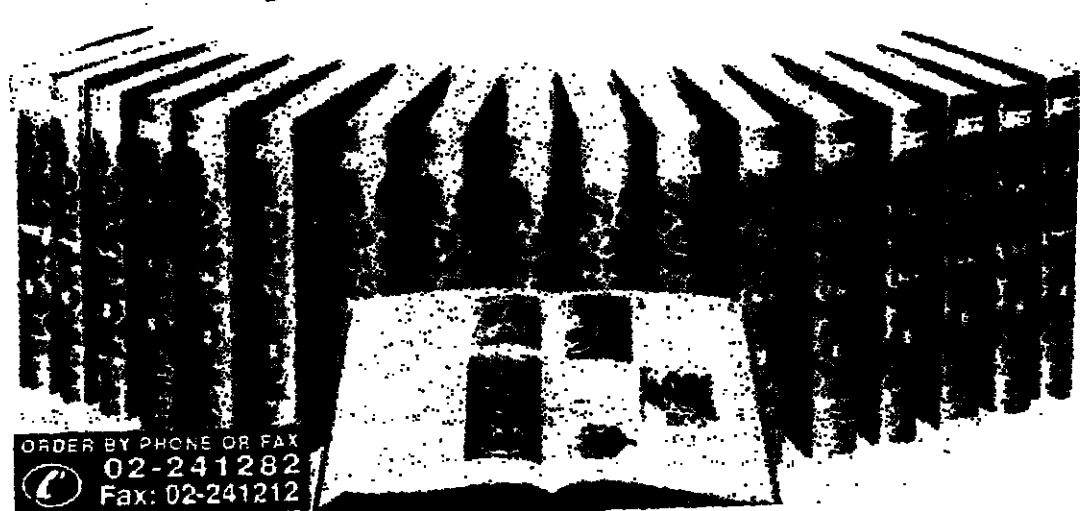
Meanwhile, the Republican welfare bill, with its automatic time limit on benefits and its five-year freeze on funds, is still a top priority for Republican leaders. It is stalled in the Senate largely because of the way the money is divided (a squabble that pits the states against one another) and because conservatives feel the bill does not go far enough to discourage out-of-wedlock births.

Marvin Olasky, the author of "The Tragedy of American Compassion," who envisions a shift from Government welfare to a system that draws more from community and religious organizations, says he has no qualms about the transition. "I've seen enough of the present suffering," Mr. Olasky, who has become one of the Speaker's favorite authors, said in an interview. "Whenever somebody says, 'If you do this, there will be suffering,' my tendency is to say, 'Compared to what?' I see suffering out there now, and it's terrible."

Mr. Moynihan has taken to warning that those who think nothing could be worse than the current system need only wait.

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## Ideas & Trends

### The Spies' Code And How It Broke

By GEORGE JOHNSON

**T**O the human brain, with its insatiable hunger for order, nothing is more disorienting than randomness. Soviet cryptographers knew this well when they set out to devise a code for communicating with the spy ring that included Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. With a system as simple as it was ingenious, they tried to insure that any message intercepted by United States intelligence agents would seem as meaningless as the snow on a television set tuned to an empty station.

But pure, unadulterated randomness can be extremely difficult to manufacture. As was revealed last week after decades of secrecy, in a ceremony at the Central Intelligence Agency headquarters, the Russians suffered from a lapse in quality control. They inadvertently let some pattern find its way into their scrambled codes, a loose thread that allowed American code breakers to unravel the scheme slowly.

The fine details of the Soviet encryption remain among the secrets of the National Security Agency, America's premier decoding service. But the principle behind the system, called a "one-time pad," has been known to cryptologists for years.

One begins with an alphabetical list of words or phrases likely to be needed in messages. These are numbered sequentially. Suppose that "Antenna," an early code name for Julius Rosenberg (later changed to "Liberal"), was assigned the number 2222. If the next item on the list was "ant-tank," it would be 2223, and "Anton," the code name for the Rosenbergs' K.G.B. han-

**The Russians had a problem: it's almost impossible to be perfectly random.**

dler, Leonid Kvasnikov, would be 2224. In such a system, a message can be converted into a sequence of numbers and decoded by anyone with a copy of the translation table.

Names not on the list could be spelled out. A code number — 9953, say — would tell the recipient that the following numbers stood for individual letters encrypted according to some agreed-upon scheme. Then 9954 could be a signal to stop spelling and pop back up to the dominant system in which whole words or phrases are assigned numbers.

If that is all there were to the code, even someone without the table might be able to crack it. One might profitably assume that the most frequent pattern of numbers probably represented the period or full stop. Articles like "a" and "the" would be among the next most common patterns. In many languages, the next pattern after a period would probably be a noun. With some lucky guesses, sophisticated statistical analysis and a lot of trial and error, meaning could be squeezed from the noise.

### Code Upon Code

Hoping to guard against this possibility, the Russian cryptographers added another layer of obfuscation. After using the table to translate the message into a string of digits, they disguised it further by adding to it a long random number. The result would also be a random number, patternless and theoretically indecipherable.

The message would be decodable by the Russians because sender and receiver each knew the random number used in the encoding scheme. If the sender wanted to encrypt "Antenna," he would translate it into 2222, then take out a pad imprinted with the random number key and copy down the first four digits, perhaps 3913. Adding the two numbers would produce 6135. Then he would move onto the next part of the message, adding it to the next digits on the pad. Once they had been used, the random numbers would be discarded — hence the name "one-time pad."

To decode the message, the recipient would take out his random number pad, copy the appropriate digits and subtract them from the message to recover the original number string. Proceeding like this, always carefully keeping their place on the pad, sender and receiver would be able to read dispatches that to anyone intercepting them would look like pure noise. While "Antenna" might be 3913 in one sentence, in the next it might be 4710. Since there is no structure to the key, there are none of the patterns cryptanalysts need to get a statistical foothold.

"Given a pure, perfect one-time system, you're not going to break it," said David Kahn, visiting historian at the N.S.A.'s Center for Cryptologic History and author of "The Codebreakers" (Macmillan, 1997). Even if the message were short enough for an intelligence agent to systematically subtract from it every possible number string, the result would be meaningless. "You would simply find that you had generated every possible message in every possible language with no way of telling which one was correct," Mr. Kahn said.

But no system is foolproof. First, generating a truly random number is harder than it sounds. Flipping a coin produces a random pattern containing an equal number of heads and tails — but only if the coin is perfectly balanced. More likely, differences in the engravings could make one

### Making The Code

Last week, the National Security Agency released some details of a Soviet cryptological system that U.S. intelligence agents broke beginning in 1944.

In this hypothetical example, the Soviets want to tell one of their operatives that Julius Rosenberg is meeting the K.G.B. agent Leonid Kvasnikov in San Francisco.

- 1 The names of people and places in the message are replaced with their code names. According to the N.S.A., Rosenberg was sometimes called Antenna. Kvasnikov was Anton. San Francisco was, appropriately enough, Babylon.

*Antenna is meeting Anton in Babylon*

- 2 Using a prearranged table, numbers are substituted for words.

Antenna	2222	Babylon	2250
Anti-tank	2223	Back	2251
Anton	2224	Box	2252
Any	2225		
Apart	2226		
Ap	2547		
Ap	2548		
Ap	2549		
Api	2550		
Arc	2551		
Are	2552		
Arm	2553		
Arq	2554		
Ask	2555		
	2556		
	2557		
	2558		
	2559		
	2560		

*Antenna is meeting Anton in Babylon*  
2222 2559 2224 2552 2250



- 3 Referring to a pad of long, random numbers, the encoder adds the top number to the message, yielding a third number that is also random and theoretically undecipherable.

22222559222425522250  
+ 17457513112098612289  
39680072334524134539

This number is then sent to the agent. The random number used to encode the message is supposed to be destroyed, never to be used again. To retrieve the original message, the receiver looks up the random number on his pad and subtracts it. Then he uses the table to turn the remaining numbers back into words.

side heavier than the other. The result would be deviations from randomness that might allow an observer to tell from the record of a coin toss whether it was more likely generated by a nickel or a dime. Similarly, if the code sender's random number generator is flawed, there might be enough order in the message for cryptanalysts to reconstruct the key.

### Asking for Infinity

As revealed by American cryptologists last week, the Russians' crucial flaw was much more trivial. The problem with the one-time pad is that it depends on generating a number that is, as Mr. Kahn put it, not only absolutely random but infinite. In practice, the number cannot be infinite, of course, but it must be long enough to encode every possible message that will conceivably be sent over a channel.

As traffic between Moscow and the K.G.B. office in New York increased in volume, the Russians apparently ran out of numbers and committed the cryptographer's cardinal sin. They repeated themselves, betraying details of Soviet espionage efforts on American soil. The spell of randomness was broken, and meaning began seeping in.



# After the Fall: The Two Faces of Mexico's Economy

By ANTHONY DePALMA

**M**EXICO CITY Most Wednesdays, at precisely 2 P.M., Government officials gather here at the ornate National Palace to give the latest figures on declining inflation, surging stock prices and other positive signs of Mexico's steady climb back to economic stability.

While the good news is being related inside, unemployed Mexican workers sometimes mill outside on the huge Plaza of the Constitution, occasionally swarming up to a microphone facing the palace windows. They are hungry, they call out, and they are angry because the Government is forcing them to pay for getting the nation's economy back on track.

The difference between what is said in the palace and what is shouted on the plaza underscores an inescapable conclusion about Mexico almost seven months after the peso was disastrously devalued: the economy here now has two faces. One is reflected in steadily improving macroeconomic indicators; the other reveals the deepening misery of Mexico's 91 million people.

The extent to which Mexico can draw those two economies together in the coming months will determine not only how well it recovers from this latest crisis, but also whether it will be able to overcome some of the fundamental problems that have for so long created appalling gaps between the rich and poor in Mexico.

Should it fail to draw the economies closer, many fear a period of deepening political and social unrest in a country that has already been shaken for more than a year by a peasant uprising and a string of assassinations.

The outcome is of critical importance to the United States, which is still waiting for the promised benefits from the North American Free Trade Agreement and is fearful of a new wave of illegal immigration if conditions worsen.

And while the Mexican Government trumpets the latest positive numbers, it is far from declaring victory.

"We are very careful not to claim that because we have made progress in returning to the market that the crisis is over," said Mexico's Finance Minister, Guillermo Ortiz. "We will say the crisis is over when we get some real growth going and employment increasing."

Still, the palace version of the economy is positive indeed. With surprising speed, the Mexican stock exchange has bounced back to pre-devaluation levels. Inflation rates are still high, around 3 percent a month, but declining broadly after peaking at 8 percent in April. Although the peso is now allowed to float freely, it has remained at around the same level — between 6 and 6.3 to the dollar — for weeks.

What's more, Mexico had a \$165 million trade surplus in the first quarter and the Government last week successfully placed \$1 billion in commercial notes, a startlingly swift recovery considering that after the last financial crisis here, in 1982, it

took seven years to regain access to international capital.

From the plaza, however, the Government's recovery program looks more like a virus than a cure.

Fearing hyperinflation, the Government essentially shut down the economy here, raising prices on basic items like electricity, gasoline and even tortillas. Interest rates on consumer loans reached 100 percent and, though dropping, still exceed a punishing 45 percent. Banks have repossessed houses and cars in record numbers. Inflation far outstrips wage increases. And perhaps worst of all, in a country with no unemployment insurance, as many as a million people may have lost jobs since January.

As the Government's March 9 recovery plan of budget cuts, tax increases, price hikes and a tight money supply continues to take hold, the gap between the palace and the plaza economies appears to grow wider. That is hard for President Ernesto Zedillo to accept because he campaigned on a promise of personal well-being and prosperity for Mexican families. But even he concedes that the hardships are likely to get worse before a real turnaround begins.

The Government hopes that as investor confidence slowly returns in the second half of the year, and exports remain strong, companies will begin to buy equipment and expand, providing jobs that will lead to some positive growth by the end of the year. Government spending will also increase throughout the rest of this year, while the national development banks will start to make more credit available.

But until then, as savings run out and the recession hits harder, more jobs will be lost and more pockets will go empty.

"There's a big difference between what the Government says and what we the people feel," said Maria Ortega, a 28-year-old nurse from Puebla, a colonial city about 50 miles southeast of Mexico City. Like other civil servants, she received a 13 percent wage increase this year, "but that's not enough to cover my bus fare," she complained.

It's not just having to pull their belts tighter that bothers many Mexicans like Ms. Ortega. They remember how just a little more than a year ago the Mexican economy was widely praised, with a booming stock market and the ability to attract billions of dollars in foreign investment. They believed the Government's promises that by entering the North American Free Trade Agreement, Mexico was entering the first world.

All that collapsed last December when Mexico jolted world markets with the devaluation, which caught the United States and others by surprise and set off a chain reaction that sent investors and their dollars fleeing.

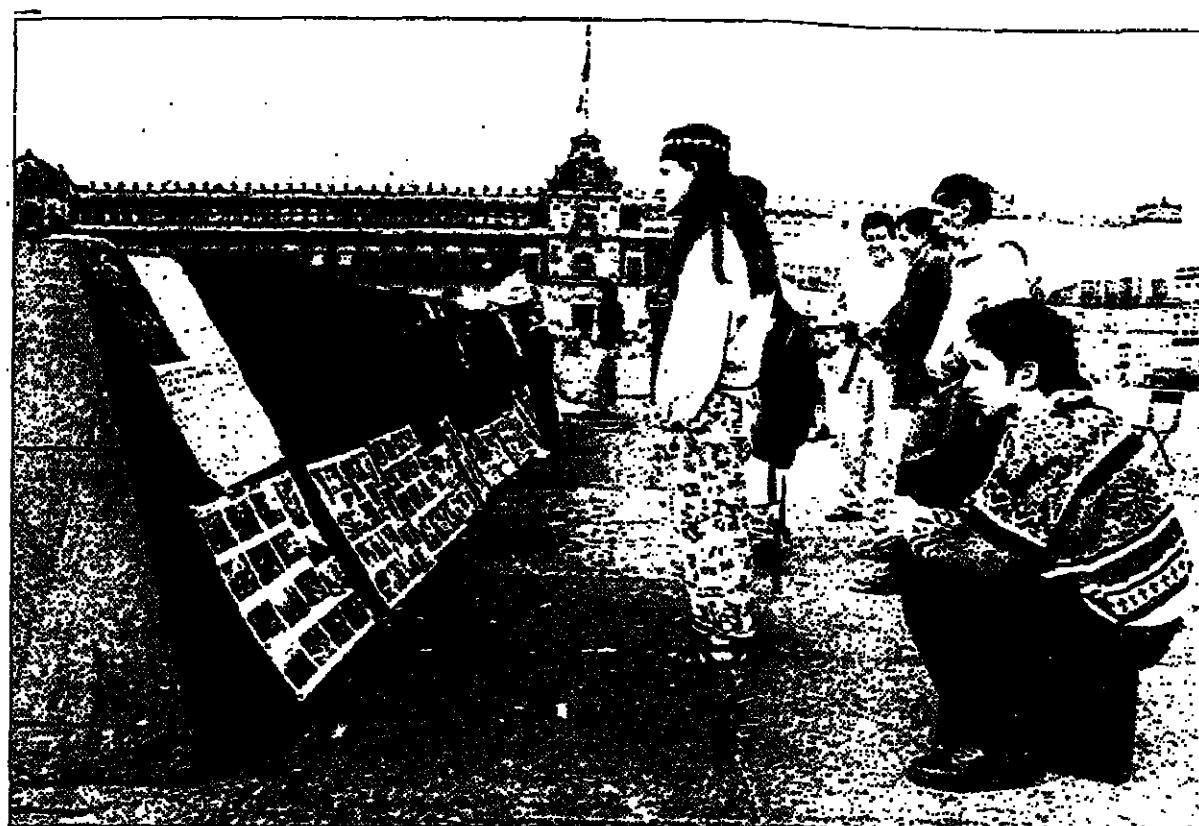
Faced with a spreading disaster, the Government appealed for help from the international community and dedicated itself to a major restructuring that would eliminate the \$30 billion in volatile short-term foreign capital on which it had been financing much of its expansion. Squeezing out that \$30 billion meant putting the economy into a straitjacket.

It was a classic response to a recurring problem. The economies of eastern Europe and many countries elsewhere in Latin America have adopted the same rigid therapy to rehabilitate their economies, with the same painful results.

The United States brokered a rescue plan for Mexico last February that includes \$20 billion in loans and loan guarantees from Washington and about \$30 billion in loans from the International Monetary Fund and other organizations. When they lobbied for the package last January, American officials said the help was needed to prevent the short-term crisis "from escalating into a prolonged and severe economic downturn, which would put at risk important U.S. interests," in particular 700,000 export-related jobs.

Already, what had been a positive trade balance with Mexico has turned into another deficit for the United States. Without some relief for the Mexicans who cannot now afford American imports, jobs north of the border could be lost, too.

Some members of Congress, led



The Plaza of the Constitution, outside the National Palace in Mexico City, offers a marketplace of information from groups opposed to Government policy. Mexico's austerity program is a frequent target of the criticism.

by Senator Alfonso M. D'Amato, Republican of New York, are still opposed to assisting Mexico financially. Senator D'Amato held a hearing in Washington on Friday in which he rapped the Mexican Government for its management of the economy and for the pace with which it has been tapping the loan package. It has already made use of \$12.5 billion in United States credits and another \$9.8 billion from the I.M.F.

Such criticism is causing the Mexican Government to fight a battle on two fronts, trying to show American officials that the international rescue has worked while also attempting to show its own people that it is not unaware of the gap between the macroeconomic indicators and everyday life.

Mr. Ortiz said the Government knew that making a huge economic adjustment would be painful, but believed it was unavoidable. "If we hadn't got the macroeconomics right," he said, "it would be much more difficult to make progress on the real side of the economy."

The Government clearly has been getting the macroeconomics right. On almost every issue that had become a concern to international investors, Mexico has scored at least a temporary success.

The stability of the peso is one of the most surprising. Before the recovery plan was announced in March, the peso had dropped to 7.45 to the dollar, a decline of 54 percent since the devaluation.

But steps taken by the central bank have helped bring the peso back to around 6 to the dollar. Peso futures are now traded on the Chicago Mercantile Exchange and Mexico's central bank reveals the level of international reserves and the money supply every week so investors know where the country is heading. Before the devaluation, reserves were officially announced just three times a year.

The last time the reserves were announced before the crisis was in October, when they stood at about \$17 billion. Within a month after the crisis began in December, the reserves stood at only slightly above \$2 billion. Since then, they have bounced back to \$14.35 billion, mostly with the help of the United States aid package.

At the heart of the crisis were doubts about Mexico's ability to pay its debts. As 1994 ended, Mexico had \$29 billion worth of outstanding tesobonos — short-term Government bonds denominated in pesos yet payable in dollars. As the peso lost value, and tesobono holders demanded to be paid in dollars, Mexico faced a liquidity problem.

But Mexico was able to use the aid package to cover its obligations. Now, only \$8.9 billion of tesobonos are outstanding. Of that amount, about \$6.6 billion came due the rest of this month and in August. Given the current reserves of Mexico, only a few analysts are worried about its ability to make the payments.

As the peso lost value earlier in the year, so did Mexican stocks. First-quarter profits were depressed

but not as badly as some had feared. As interest rates started to drop during the second quarter, the picture improved. A rate cut by the United States Federal Reserve on July 6 gave additional help to the leading index of the stock exchange here. On Friday, the index closed at 2,531.49, more than a thousand points above its post-devaluation low of 1,447.52, which was set on Feb. 27. The stock market's recovery, however, is not all that it seems because in dollar terms, the exchange is still down more than 18 percent.

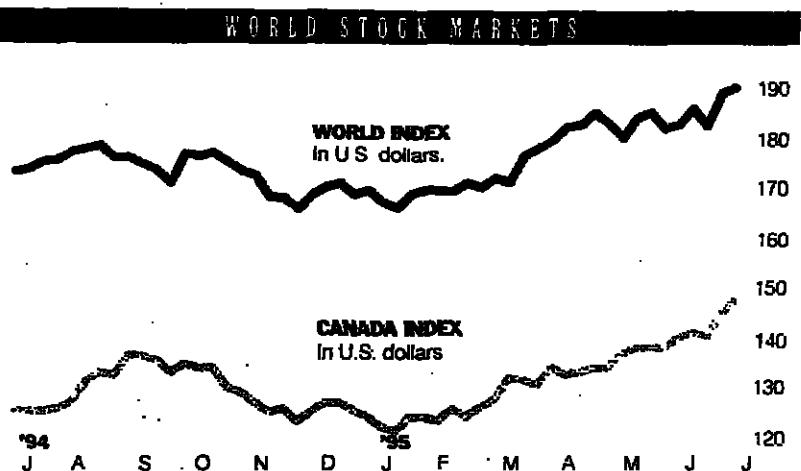
In some cases, the devaluation of the peso has been both a boon and a burden for the same Mexican industry. Auto exports are soaring while domestic sales are slumping badly. For example, exports of the Ford Motor Company of Mexico have increased 50 percent since January. The company recently announced \$450 million worth of direct investment, mostly in plants dedicated to producing exports.

At same time, however, few Mexicans can afford a new car and Ford's domestic sales have plummeted. In the first five months of the year, Ford sold 10,999 cars and trucks, a drop of 20,579 from the same period in 1994.

Chrysler's domestic sales are down 75 percent. General Motors 40 percent. Volkswagen, which still produces the Beetle in Mexico, has also been hit hard. It sold 503 Beetles in May, compared with 6,283 in May 1994.

Those harsh domestic realities have many investors nervous, notwithstanding the bullish macroeconomic indicators.

"They've really got a recession going on," said Scott Kalb, manager of the Smith Barney International Asset Management Fund. "They are going to have some very poor earnings results come out for the second quarter. They've got a tough political situation and plenty of potential for political problems, labor problems and social unrest."



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT Indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

Country	PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS				IN LOCAL CURR.			
	Index	Week % Chg.	YTD % Chg.	Rank	Index	Week % Chg.	YTD % Chg.	Rank
Australia	177.87	5.5	1	3.6	21	161.82	10.0	
Austria	198.04	1.0	15	8.4	19	143.04	-2.8	
Belgium	189.14	1.8	7	18.2	7	140.57	8.3	
Brazil	144.46	0.8	17	-11.5	25	246.05	-3.3	
Britain	221.31	-0.7	26	13.6	16	205.63	11.4	
Canada	149.77	2.0	5	15.7	12	147.42	12.2	
Denmark	283.05	1.4	12	12.4	18	208.74	0.2	
Finland	262.36	4.8	3	41.1	1	234.56	26.8	
France	188.31	-0.0	22	15.1	14	143.33	4.7	
Germany	163.65	1.7	9	14.2	15	118.35	2.5	
Hong Kong	380.98	-1.4	11	16.8	9	378.48	16.8	
Ireland	241.02	-0.4	25	16.9	8	206.99	10.0	
Italy	77.79	0.3	20	3.3	22	93.66	2.7	
Japan	151.72	0.4	19	-3.3	24	88.22	-14.9	
Malaysia	554.61	1.4	13	15.7	13	523.21	11.0	
Mexico	1224.76	5.2	2	-13.5	26	805.62	5.6	
Netherlands	258.58	1.7	8	19.2	6	183.93	7.1	
New Zealand	84.71	2.7	4	20.2	5	66.49	13.8	
Norway	241.47	1.9	6	13.3	17	202.65	3.5	
Singapore	395.21	-0.3	24	5.9	20	254.57	1.6	
South Africa	344.90	-0.2	23	2.4	23	275.06	-8.3	
Spain	153.95	1.6	10	16.7	10	139.09	5.7	
Sweden	286.19	1.3	14	23.8	2	304.64	19.8	
Switzerland	202.63	0.3	21	22.7	3	181.14	9.0	
Thailand	183.19	0.9	16	15.8	11	176.00	14.2	
United States	228.33	0.6	18	21.6	4	228.33	21.6	

COMPOSITE INDICES				
Europe	195.17	0.4	15.5	3.08
Pacific Basin	162.58	0.8	-1.0	1.27
Europe/Pacific	176.06	0.6	6.0	2.10
World	192.58	0.6	11.3	2.29

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1995 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's

CURRENCIES				
Country	Currency	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.
Japan	Yen per U.S. \$	87.85	86.69	+1.34
Germany	Marks per U.S. \$	1.3903	1.3922	-0.01
Canada	Canadian \$ per U.S. \$	1.3580	1.3582	-0.01
Britain	U.S. \$ per British pound	1.5955	1.5963	-0.05

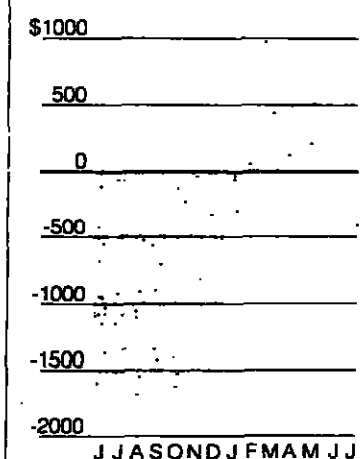
Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets, exchange rates as of Friday's New York close

## Palace Economy

Since the devaluation of the Mexican peso in December, the stock market and trade balance show positive signs.

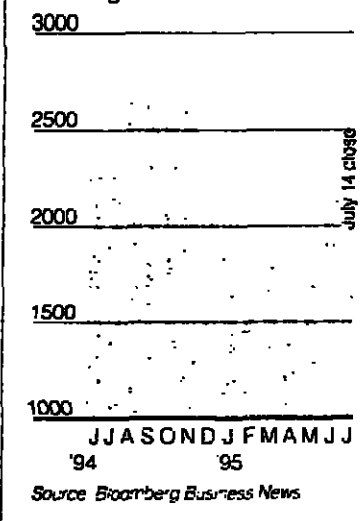
## Exports Outpace Imports

Mexican trade balance in millions of U.S. dollars



## Market Rebounds

Leading stocks traded

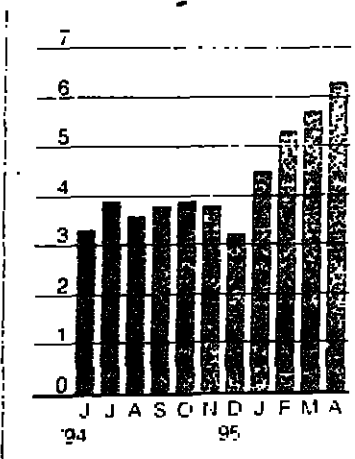


## Plaza Economy

Domestic production has fallen as unemployment has climbed, indicating that recovery may be far off.

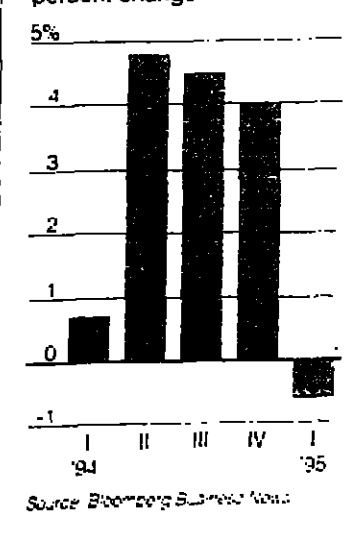
## Unemployment Grows

Total rate in %



## G.D.P. Drops Off

Year-over-year percent change



## July 10-14: The Stock Market Takes A Breather

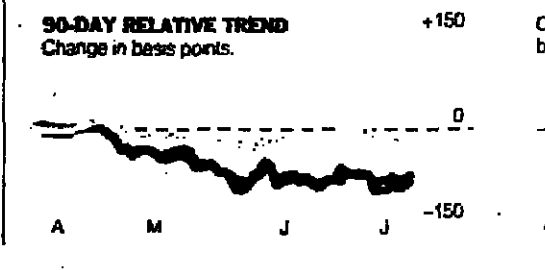
DOMESTIC EQUITIES		
Broad market	Up 0.63%	559.89
S & P 500 index		
Blue chips	Up 0.13%	4,708.82
Dow 30 industrials		
Small capitalization	Up 1.91%	294.88
Russell 2000 index		



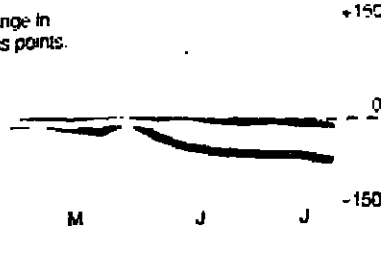
DOMESTIC BONDS		
Treasuries	Down 0.52%	180.90
Ryan Labs. Total Return		
Municipals	Up 0.32%	116.31
Bond Buyer index		
Corporates	Down 0.47%	788.88
Merrill Lynch Master index		



AROUND THE WORLD		
European stocks	Up 0.40%	195.17
F.T.-Actuaries Europe		
Asian stocks	Up 0.76%	162.58
F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin		
Gold	Up 0.75%	\$389.60
New York cash price		



OTHER INVESTMENTS		
Long bonds	6.60%	
30-year Treasuries	Up 8 basis pts.	
Short bonds	5.68%	
2-year Treasuries	Up 14 basis pts.	
Municipals	6.08%	
Bond Buyer index	Down 3 basis pts.	
Money market funds	5.42%	
Bank fund average	Down 5 basis pts.	
Bank C.D.'s	5.15%	
1-year small savers	Down 7 basis pts.	
Stocks	2.46%	
S & P 500 dividend yield	Down 1 b p	



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor, Bloomberg Financial Markets, The Bond Buyer, Catalyst, Goldman, Sachs, IBC's Money Fund Report, Merrill Lynch, Standard & Poor's, Ryan Labs



# The New York Times

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## Russia Refashioned

The Russian economy has come a long way in a short time. Not quite four years since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Russia has a market economy.

It is rough, inequitable and weak. Many Russians, particularly the elderly trapped with fixed pensions from the Soviet era, have fallen into humiliating poverty. The disparity in living standards, egregious but shielded under Communism, is now much worse and painfully visible to everyone. The Government's role is still considerable. But given the calcified state of the Soviet economy, and the crippling grip of the Kremlin's central planners, the transformation has been remarkable.

A new book by Anders Aslund — a Swedish economist who teamed up with Professor Jeffrey Sachs of Harvard to help Moscow design market reforms — documents how far the economy has come. Russia has ended almost all price controls. It has ended most business subsidies and credits. Government no longer tells factories how many ball bearings to use or how much steel to produce. Indeed, more than 60 percent of the Russian work force is privately employed.

Like democracy in Russia, a Russian market economy could still be stalled or even derailed. But the Government recently pledged to stabilize the value of the ruble on international currency markets, a pledge backed up by \$10 billion of foreign reserves. That pledge only makes sense if Moscow commits itself to keep responsible fiscal and monetary policies in place.

The Yeltsin Government has made costly mistakes along the way. It prolonged agony by propping up bankrupt factories. It turned the central bank over to an incompetent bureaucrat who let go of the money supply and brought the economy to the verge of hyperinflation, with prices rising more

than 2,000 percent in 1992. It preserved import subsidies and export controls that fed Government corruption.

Russian living standards did sink, perhaps by between 10 and 20 percent. But Mr. Yeltsin and his aides, though vacillating at times, stayed with the market reforms. The Russian people, while demoralized by the initial shortages of food and consumer goods and rising unemployment, have not rebelled.

Today some economic signs are encouraging. The central bank has changed hands and inflation is down to around 6 percent a month, above target but still a major improvement. The Parliament seems prepared live up to agreements with the International Monetary Fund to keep Government deficits under control. A middle class is slowly developing. If monetary and fiscal restraint continues, the decision to fix the value of the ruble could produce significant dividends by giving foreign investors the confidence to invest in Russia.

To sustain the momentum in the months ahead, Moscow must resist the temptation of opening the spigot to Government subsidies for politically powerful factory managers, a move that would threaten economic stability. The central bank must keep a tight lid on the money supply. The Government must tackle corruption.

When President Yeltsin went to the hospital last week with heart problems, political speculation in Moscow was intense, but there was a fair degree of confidence that a constitutional succession would go forward if he were incapacitated. That faith in Russia's democratic institutions might also be applied to its economy, which is more than the reformers could have hoped when they set out to refashion Russia four years ago.

## New Yorkers Against New York

The House of Representatives indulged in some crazy fiscal logic last week. It moved swiftly toward a vote that will almost certainly blow a hole in Federal spending for the arts. At the same time, a House subcommittee approved \$8 billion more than President Clinton requested for defense, including money for B-2 bombers the Pentagon does not want. The arts savings would amount to \$20 million for 1996, with funding set to end entirely in two years.

The comparison is telling. Since the Pentagon does not want any more B-2's, the only explanation for expanding their production must be to protect defense-related jobs. The freshman Republicans whose rebelliousness forced their elders to cut the arts budget more deeply than expected clearly regard museums and theaters as expendable in a time of tight fiscal discipline.

One might understand such a cramped vision among members whose districts receive only modest economic benefit from Federal arts subsidies. But for New York representatives, this is an unforgivable attitude. The arts are critical to New York, not only to its culture but to its financial health. Yet every New York Republican agreed to allow a vote on the cuts.

What were these people thinking, and whom did they think they were representing? Surely they must be familiar with the 1993 Port Authority report that estimated the contribution of the arts and related cultural activities to the New York metropolitan area at almost \$10 billion annually. The report also said that 107,000 jobs in the New York area depend on the arts. These are not trivial numbers, especially in a state that has more than its share of fiscal problems.

Some conservatives like to picture support for

the arts as a waste of taxpayers' money on elitist activities enjoyed by a privileged few. Most New Yorkers know better than that. They know that their city, their region and many of their neighbors depend on tourism generated by New York's rich concentration of theaters, museums, galleries and the excitement that concentration creates.

Beyond such local concerns, the arts perform a national function, helping to bind us together as a people. Critics of Federal funding chafe at supporting institutions that, in turn, support artists they see as silly or profane. But in an earlier age, Impressionist painting, jazz and much of modern literature were also labeled frivolous and immoral. Nor is the notion of public support radical. Michelangelo and Mozart depended on the largess of the nobility — the government funding of their times.

Big cities like New York are not the only losers here. Artists in smaller communities are more isolated and have less access to private philanthropy. Those communities need their artists too, and the modest support they receive from Washington not only helps them survive but confirms their legitimacy.

Compared with those unneeded bombers, the arts are a bargain, a tiny budgetary outlay that repays itself many times over. The House as a whole is acting shortsightedly, but what the New York Republicans are doing is worse. They are engaging in an act of collective self-destruction. A spokesman for Senator Alfonse D'Amato says the Senator is "closely monitoring" the legislation in the Senate Labor Committee. He says Mr. D'Amato strongly supports the arts, understands their importance and will "fight for New York." That has to mean restoring the money the House cuts.

## Wrong Direction on Malpractice

The House, in reforming product liability laws, has passed misguided restrictions on the ability of patients to sue doctors and hospitals for malpractice. The Senate dropped medical malpractice from its product-liability bill, but the House provisions remain alive in the conference committee.

Sponsors say Federal legislation is needed because lopsided jury verdicts are saddling blameless physicians with huge malpractice premiums and forcing them to practice defensive medicine — administering needless tests and procedures to ward off later claims of negligence when patients suffer unavoidable bad outcomes.

Litigation excesses do exist. The most careful study of medical malpractice, based on hospital and court records from New York State in the 1980's by Paul Weiler of the Harvard Law School, showed that those who do go to court and collect awards are often not victims of negligence and that almost 60 percent of malpractice rewards go to lawyers.

But the House bill provides a lopsided solution. It would limit punitive damages — awards that punish flagrant negligence rather than compensate victims for their injuries — even though punitive damages are awarded in only a minuscule number of malpractice suits. It would also eliminate "joint and several" liability for nonmonetary losses — which tags defendants who are only partially responsible for up to 100 percent of the damages if their codefendants are bankrupt. Instead, it would hold defendants only proportionally liable: a defendant who is responsible for 5 percent of the negligent care would pay only 5 percent of the pain-

and-suffering award. That would let too many defendants off the hook. Defendants who are responsible for more than, say, 20 percent of the negligent care have surely done enough harm to warrant paying the entire bill, if necessary.

The House would also put an arbitrary cap of \$250,000 on compensation for "pain and suffering." That would be unfair to grievously injured patients and do nothing to rein in verdicts for smaller claims. Nor would it solve the problem of wildly inconsistent awards. Some juries award 25 times as much as others for comparable injuries. This lottery gives plaintiffs and their lawyers a huge incentive to sue physicians and gives physicians a huge incentive to settle out of fear of arbitrary awards. The irrational process drives up medical costs and steers physicians toward excessive procedures.

The best answer is guidelines. Juries and judges should be handed a range of awards that apply to any plaintiff with the same injury.

The bill overlooks the plight of the vast majority of malpractice victims who receive no compensation. The Weiler study showed many patients never realized they were victims of malpractice — only one of eight victims of negligence suits — and only half of those who did collect compensation.

The House bill does nothing to compensate overlooked victims of negligent care or cut down negligent care. The sponsors have not even provided a compelling reason for solving litigation excesses at the Federal level. The best choice for the conference committee is to drop the House provisions.

## U.S. Opening to Vietnam Sends China a Message

To the Editor:  
Lost in the controversy surrounding normalization of relations between the United States and Vietnam has been one overriding geopolitical accomplishment.

With ties between the United States and China at their lowest point since official diplomatic relations were established in 1979, President Clinton's decision to normalize relations with Vietnam couldn't have come at a better time.

Recently, Chinese officials decided to play diplomatic hardball with the United States, as China's actions in light of the visit of President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan and in the matter of the Chinese-American dissident Harry Wu have signified.

However, President Clinton's decision to normalize ties with Vietnam sent a clear message to the Chinese. By establishing relations, the United States now adds Vietnam to the list of Asian countries in which its presence will expand and solidify.

It is no coincidence that the Chinese request to return to the status quo with the United States (news article, July 13) came only after relations between Vietnam and the United States were announced.

If the Chinese forgot who they were dealing with, President Clinton reminded them. Intentional or not,

his move was a power play that deserves credit. JOSEPH SAWITZ  
Brooklyn, July 13, 1995  
The writer is a graduate student at the London School of Economics.

### Don't Prop Them Up

To the Editor:  
Re "Hello, Vietnam" (Op-Ed, July 11): Much of the rhetoric used to justify recognition of Vietnam has centered on two points made by Vu-Duc Vuong: national interest and coming to terms with Hanoi.

But too often, in Vietnam as in China, national interest becomes a synonym for the economic interests of a few companies.

Moreover, the money to be made does not come from Vietnam but from United States Government support, as Mr. Vuong acknowledges. "American companies have been reluctant to invest in Vietnam because they are not backed by Government agencies like the Commerce Department." Only with Overseas Private Investment Corporation guarantees, Export-Import Bank grants and loans from the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank will money be available in Vietnam.

The United States interest must entail a broader agenda that goes to the heart of the second point: coming

to terms with Hanoi and allegedly breaking with those Mr. Vuong cites as remaining "mired" in the cold war. The cold war ended with the collapse of the Soviet regime and its Communist dictatorship. But a continuing legacy is the remaining Communist dictatorships of Vietnam, China, Cuba and North Korea.

Those regimes, not policies that stigmatize them for their repressive, undemocratic character, are anachronisms in the world today. The United States needs to cultivate relations with Vietnam's 70 million people, but not by recognizing as legitimate a regime they never elected.

The war in South Vietnam sought to deter the expansion of Communist dictatorship of North Vietnam. Hanoi triumphed through military assault on the South in 1975, but still fears any exercise of political freedom by the people it allegedly liberated.

Diplomatic recognition and the financial flows that follow only help to sustain a regime that, like its Soviet predecessor, belongs in the dustbin of history. JEFFREY B. GAYNER  
Senior Fellow, Heritage Foundation  
Washington, July 12, 1995

### Make Cuba Next

To the Editor:  
It is indeed an occasion to celebrate the normalizing of relations with Vietnam, and it is to be hoped Congressional opponents will not obstruct the signing of a trade agreement and granting of most-favored-nation trading status to Vietnam.

It is also a good occasion to revisit our relations with a Communist country closer to home, Cuba. At the moment the White House is fostering reconciliation with Vietnam, Congress is discussing the Helms-Burton bill to tighten the Cuba embargo.

While Vietnamese-Americans are free to visit and support their families in Vietnam, it is illegal for Cuban-Americans to see loved ones or provide them with financial assistance. While United States companies can turn a profit in Vietnam, United States businesses are losing out to Canadians, Mexicans and Europeans, who are investing in Cuba.

And while Vietnamese can now look forward to an improvement in their economic status, the United States embargo against Cuba is depriving Cubans of life-sustaining medicines and food.

MEDEA BENJAMIN  
Director, Global Exchange  
San Francisco, July 12, 1995

## Subcommittee Has Unlisted Fax Number

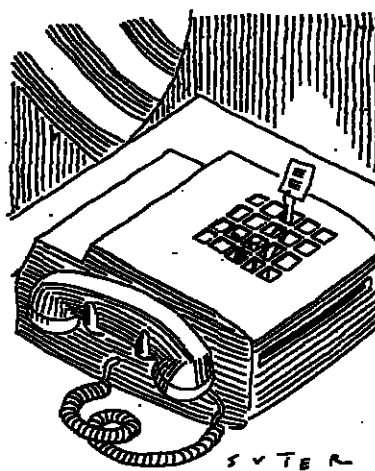
To the Editor:  
Learning of the July 11 House Subcommittee on Appropriations budget markup on Title 3 of the Education Act, of interest to my institution, I called for the subcommittee's fax number so I could send a letter.

To my surprise, I was told the fax number wasn't public. Neither was the fax number of Representative John E. Porter, a subcommittee member, public. These public servants had no desire to talk to the public.

A committee staff person suggested I write a letter. When I said there wasn't time since my communication had to be received before the 4 P.M. session, the answer remained: The fax number isn't public.

This Congress sees itself as responding to the public. If a Government fax number is not public, why have one? I wonder if that number is available to well-heeled lobbyists.

Another staffer tried to learn the mysterious number and was also un-



successful. He offered to walk my communication to the committee — if I would fax it to him. That number was public!

ALIDA MESROP  
Dean, Audrey Cohen College  
New York, July 11, 1995

## Payroll Count Makes Misleading Jobs Index

To the Editor:  
The headline "Payroll Swelled by 215,000 in June; Jobless Rate Fell" (front page, July 8) is misleading.

The "payroll" count is only one of two counts used by the Labor Department to determine the number of jobless and the unemployment rate.

The payroll count headlined is innately inaccurate. If someone loses a full-time job and tries to hold body and soul together by working three part-time jobs, he or she will appear on two or three payrolls. The household count is more accurate and is used to determine the jobless rate.

As you report: The separate household survey "reflects a strikingly large divergence from the job data provided by the payroll tally. After a 926,000 decline in May followed by a feeble 58,000 rise last month, the number of people with jobs averaged 179,000 fewer in the second quarter than in the first three months of the year."

A recent cartoon illustrates the point. A customer says to the waitress, "I hear there are more jobs now." She replies, "Yes, I hold three of them."

GUS TYLER  
Assistant to the President  
Union of Needle Trades, Industrial and Textile Employees  
New York, July 10, 1995

## New York City's Recovering Fiscal Health

To the Editor:  
Re "The Bond Rating Can't Be Ignored" (Op-Ed, July 12): Esier R. Fuchs, former Mayor David N. Dinkins' campaign adviser, is wrong to assert that Standard & Poor's decision to downgrade New York City's bond rating has significant monetary implications. The market has taken into account a BBB+ rating for city bonds since 1991, when Moody's downgraded the city in the prior administration.

Every measure of the city's fiscal health has improved since I came into office, despite inheriting a collapsing private-sector economy, a bloated city bureaucracy and a multibillion-dollar budget defi-

cit with massive projected gaps. We reduced government spending and the city work force by almost 17,000 employees. We redeployed workers to safeguard vital services and negotiated landmark productivity agreements. We vastly decreased the projected gaps. Our pro-jobs, pro-business policies helped produce the city's first substantial private-sector job growth since 1987.

The city today by all accounts is more creditworthy than it was in 1993. There are indications that the city's bonds have been trading up in the secondary market.

Ms. Fuchs claims that "Standard & Poor's bases its judgments on a specific and well-known set of municipal finance criteria." Last Wednesday, based on the same criteria, Fitch Investors Service — one of the three major rating agencies — affirmed the city's bond rating at A+, stating that our budget "reflects significant progress toward achieving ongoing balance."

In just 18 months we have turned New York City's economy around. I am proud of that achievement. S. & P.'s decision is the action of someone looking backward, not forward. It will not impede our progress toward fiscal stability and economic growth.

RUDOLPH W. GIULIANI  
Mayor  
New York, July 13, 1995

### Historic Palestine

To the Editor:  
Thomas L. Friedman defines "historic Palestine" as "the territory between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean" (column, July 9). The boundaries defined by the League of Nations also included the area east of the Jordan River, today the Kingdom of Jordan, 78 percent of historic Palestine. The Arabs already have more than three-fourths of historic Palestine.

MORTON A. KLEIN  
National President  
Zionist Organization of America  
New York, July 10, 1995

## How Can You Describe Meager Defense Spending as Lavish?

To the Editor:  
"The Pentagon Jackpot" (editorial, July 10) serves as an example of what happens when misinformed journalists attempt to analyze a military budget without understanding the budget process or the nation's security needs.

In the future, you may want to proceed with care when offering advice on how to defend more than 250 million Americans.

The characterization of defense spending as "lavish" ignores the overwhelming preponderance of evidence to the contrary.

The Clinton Administration's continuing reductions in defense spending — reductions that do not reflect priorities outlined by the military — have deprived units of essential training and operating resources while dramatically reducing the investment available for force modernization.

In fact, measured as a percentage of gross domestic product, defense spending has fallen to the lowest

level since 1941. This year a bipartisan coalition of House and Senate members responded by establishing a defense budget level designed to reverse troubling signs of deteriorating readiness.

The view that "threats to the United States are diminishing" as a result of the disintegration of the Soviet empire demonstrates a fundamental misunderstanding of basic current events. While we may have succeeded in reducing the threat of nuclear annihilation, the collapse of the Soviet Union has unleashed a host of potentially destructive forces, engendering a new era of global insecurity.

Conflict still threatens many of the regions important to United States interests, and we must continue to stand ready to defend those interests.

The term "extravagant" to describe efforts to maintain our capacity to fight two major regional conflicts simultaneously makes little sense. Should the United States rely on good fortune to deter foreign tyrants from pursuing their expansionist agendas at the same moment?

Would not a restricted, one-region capability leave the United States vulnerable during multiple conflicts scattered around the globe?

Finally, I am certain that many of your readers were as perplexed as I was by your use of the term "social services" — a phrase normally employed referring to organized welfare efforts — to describe the basic housing earned by our men and women in uniform. Your suggestion that such support constitutes some sort of charitable government giveaway reveals a contemptible lack of appreciation for the work of America's fighting men and women.

Your editorial proves the futility of trying to formulate American defense policy from the cozy confines of a Manhattan skyscraper. Perhaps you should learn something beyond an intense dislike for military institutions before attempting to find a place in the legitimate debate over the needs of America's armed forces.

(Senator) STROM THURMOND  
Chairman, Armed Services Committee  
Washington, July 12, 1995

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Foreign Affairs  
Time  
For  
Truth

The least  
bad peace  
in Bosnia

They should have been...  
never should have been...  
or Croatia as independent...  
var and the only serious...  
map and a power...  
It is the least bad peace...  
is horrific, and has...  
allies intend now to...  
of the arms embargo...  
conjunction with a...  
mentable peace plan...  
are ready to bring to...  
for political ends...  
have guilt. We do the...  
recreating into fantasy...  
It's time for a just...  
honesty here. For four...  
have been lying to our...  
about what was going...  
way to end this war is...  
the truth.

هنا من الأصل



## Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

## Time For Truth

WASHINGTON When American officials resign in protest it's usually a headline for a day and then forgotten. That was certainly the case with George Kenney, the State Department desk officer for Yugoslavia, who was the first official to resign in protest — August 1992 — over the failure of the U.S. to intervene in Bosnia. At the time of his resignation, Mr. Kenney had never actually been to Yugoslavia, but since then he has traveled through, and written extensively on, the Balkans. The result is that Mr. Kenney is no longer an advocate of intervention.

In a lengthy interview, he argued that the only realistic option now for the U.S. and its allies is to focus on moving the parties to a negotiated settlement, based on the power realities on the ground. It is time, he says, for a bad peace, because that is the only one available.

Consider the options, says Mr. Kenney. Massive military intervention now — not just to protect the safe havens but to change the balance of power — would entail a war against the Serbs, and possibly the Russian protectors, a risk the West is demonstrably unwilling to take. Another option, extracting the U.N. peacekeepers, would leave Croatia and Bosnia in shambles and almost certainly lead to NATO, U.N. and U.S. rescue forces' being taken hostage by panicked civilians and combatants looking for human shields. Still another option, muddling through, also no longer seems possible — not with the Serbs openly attacking the safe havens, from which the Muslims were increasingly launching their own offensives.

That leaves only one option, he argues: negotiations — some political arrangement that preserves for the Bosnian Muslims a rump state centered around Sarajevo, with the Bosnian Croats in their areas confederated with Croatia, and the Bosnian Serbs in their areas confederated with Serbia. It is untidy, unfair, but better than endless killing.

"Let's be honest, the Muslims lost this war two years ago," said Mr. Kenney. "But they keep waiting for the Western cavalry to come over the hill and it isn't coming. The allies may protect the safe havens, but they are not going to fight this war for the Muslims. The reason negotiations might be feasible now is because the Serbs have bitten off more than they can chew. If the Muslims can be made to understand that the cavalry is not coming, they might recognize that 1.2 million Muslims cannot stand up against 9 million Serbs. We are approaching the point of exhaustion and that is the point when you should be tabling a peace plan."

But the Clinton team has shied away from diplomacy. The reason

## The least bad peace in Bosnia.

goes to the heart of the Administration's failure in Bosnia: It would never accept the settlement ideas being proposed, because it viewed them as immoral, because they gave the Muslims less than they thought they deserved. But, at the same time, the Administration would never invest U.S. military power to achieve the settlement that it deemed moral. The Clinton Administration didn't like the model it could afford and it wouldn't pay for the model it wanted.

Instead of having an honest discussion with the Muslims and advising them to get the best deal they could under these circumstances, the Clinton team postured. In doing so it has put more and more innocent people through the Balkan meat grinder and imperiled America's wider interests in Europe — namely the future of NATO, the trans-Atlantic alliance and the U.S.-Russia relationship.

Says Mr. Kenney: "The truth is we never should have recognized Bosnia or Croatia as independent states. We were intervening in a messy civil war and the only solution now is a messy map and a power-sharing arrangement that begins to untangle it. It is the least bad peace available."

The ethnic cleansing of Srebrenica is horrific, and has triggered a French call for intervention. If the allies intend now to bomb Belgrade or lift the arms embargo on the Muslims, they should at least do it in conjunction with a realistic, implementable peace plan that is consistent with the amount of force they are ready to bring to bear. Wars are fought for political ends, not to relieve guilt. We do the Muslims no favor by slapping the Serbs and then retreating into fantasy again.

It's time for a little bit of honesty here. For four years now we have been lying to ourselves, lying to the world and lying to the Muslims about what was possible. The only way to end this war is to start with the truth.

## "The War Is Over. Life Goes On."

By William Broyles Jr.

Representative Randy Cunningham burst into tears last week at a Congressional hearing on the recognition of Vietnam. Mr. Cunningham, a California Republican who had been shot down as a Navy pilot in Vietnam, was so overcome with emotion describing the deaths of his comrades that he could not go on. When he recovered, he charged that President Clinton was morally wrong to recognize the former enemy.

Any one of us who fought in Vietnam knows the emotions Randy Cunningham must have felt: the deep grief and anger, the sense of loss, the pride, the whole confusing mess. I have wept, been to the wall on the Capitol Mall, traced the names of the fallen, sought out my old comrades, worked with troubled vets, helped build memorials and led parades.

I feel for the families of the 2,000 or so Americans still unaccounted for. But Randy Cunningham's tears leave me cold. The grief we veterans share should be above partisan politics. It is purer, more honorable and lasting. And it is personal. Tears and emotion in politics fuel partisan suspicions and revenge.

Public emotion has turned Vietnam into a haunting specter that has often sapped our military will. Bosnia is our greatest failure of collective security since Munich because we are afraid of repeating the mistakes of Vietnam. But Nazi aggression had little to do with the post-colonial war in Vietnam, which in

William Broyles Jr., former editor in chief of Newsweek, was co-author of the screenplay of "Apollo 13."

turn has little to do with Bosnia. The Balkan tragedy does, however, have a lot to do with Munich. Because our memories are so faint and our emotions so vivid, we persist in applying the lessons of the wrong wars. We must put Vietnam behind us.

The Vietnam veterans who support recognition have impeccable credentials: Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona, was a P.O.W.; Senator John Kerry, Democrat of Massachusetts, won the Navy Cross; Senator Bob Kerrey, Democrat of Nebraska, won the Medal of Honor and left part of a leg in Vietnam. Does their support for recognition mean they are betraying their comrades who are still missing?

That is the hardest question, because the deep, uncompromising rule of the soldier is not to leave your comrades on the battlefield. But the fighting has been over for 20 years. Our battlefields are rice paddies now, tilted by men and women not even born when the guns fell silent. There were more M.I.A.'s in World War II than the total number of Americans killed in Vietnam. Thousands remain unaccounted for after the Korean War. We should continue to try to account for everyone. But the time has come to do so in cooperation with our old enemies.

The reason why is in the mirror. Look at us. Our hair is gray, what little there is. Some of us are grandfathers now. Many of us went to war 30 years ago. Thirty years! That's the time between the start of World War I and the end of World War II. In those earlier 30 years, more than 100 million people died. Millions perished in death camps. Millions more died and were never found. Tens of millions were homeless. The maps of Europe and Asia were redrawn.

Whole countries disappeared.

In comparison, Vietnam is a footnote. Yet we can't get beyond it — supposedly because we lost. But our countryside wasn't ripped with bombs, our forests defoliated, our cities pulverized, our people herded into camps. We had casualties, but we did not have millions of refugees and more than a million dead. We weren't thrown into the sea as the British were at Dunkirk.

I never felt defeated. I just felt wasted. I would have fought in World

## Most soldiers recognized Vietnam long ago.

War II. I would fight today in Bosnia.

But where I fought was in Vietnam. And by now the only true response by a soldier should be this: tough. As we said in Vietnam, it doesn't mean anything. Which means, it means everything, but what can you do? In war people die. Sometimes the best people die. We want there to be a reason. Sometimes there is, sometimes there isn't. War is messy and unfair. That's why it needs a clear purpose. There was no clear purpose in Vietnam. There is one in Bosnia.

Ten years ago, I visited the site of the base where I had been a Marine lieutenant, just west of Da Nang. I went with a man named Hien, who had been a company commander in the Vietcong. We had fought each other up and down the rice paddies, mountains and in the jungles. Almost all his comrades were dead or missing.

## The New Extremists



By Brad Wetzel

SANTA FE, N.M. Bungee-jumping, speed rock climbing and sky-surfing (leaping from a plane wearing a snowboard-like contraption while your partner videotapes your acrobatics in midair for earthbound judges) have big appeal for sports fans these days. You may have caught a glimpse of the inaugural "Extreme Games" last month on ESPN.

What has happened to the way we relate to the outdoors?

Americans are in pursuit of new and bizarre ways to appreciate nature — or simply themselves. "Extreme" is the word that marketers in the booming outdoors industry like to use to describe the trend. We big-wall rock climb, big-wave surf, adventure snowboard and underwater hang glide.

We can never return to the romantic simplicity of Walden Pond, of course, and a lot of that stuff you see on the roof racks of Ford Explorers has made nature safer so that more people can enjoy it.

But there's an odd twist to all this adventure-seeking: people go for the risk, but they want a safety net, too. Portable global positioning systems pinpoint sailors' and bikers' locations, making it impossible to get lost, or at least lose track of their coordinates. A new breed of cellular phone, due out in 1998, will have its own satellite system so that it can

Brad Wetzel is an editor at Outside magazine.

reach anywhere in the world.

Remote places are no longer so remote. In one of the adventure-travel industry's more frivolous moments, 120 paying customers parachuted onto the North Pole en masse in April — a record, we were reminded by the trip's organizers. In February about 200 runners slid around a 26.4-mile course laid out atop a glacier in the first-ever Antarctica Marathon.

What's all this high-octane fun about? To some extent, it's just good-old-fashioned thrill-seeking with a dash of Old World colonialism thrown in. But it also seems that, in a world in which it's getting hard to find something you can be first at, you have to be ambitious.

There's a problem, though: enthusiastic amateurs often run into trouble. Every summer, we watch the same,

## Me-Firsters in the great outdoors.

violent drama unfold on Alaska's Mount McKinley, at 20,320 feet the highest peak in North America. A couple of thousand people, some of them experienced mountaineers but many of them not, set out for the summit. Soon the panicked radio calls roll in. Pulmonary edema, broken limbs, somebody trapped in a crevasse. The Park Service dispatches helicopters and greenhorn climbers and frozen corpses are swept up and returned to civilization at a cost of about \$200,000 a year. Many climbers tend to view

such rescues as a citizen's right (though a number are foreigners).

In Utah this week, depositions are under way in a case that will address this issue. It's a truly sad story, which began in July 1993 when five teen-age boys and three adult leaders from a Mormon youth group rappelled into a 65-foot sandstone canyon in southern Utah planning to hike and camp on the canyon floor. At the bottom, the group was swept away by a swift, chilly current, the spring runoff from the Rocky Mountains. One boy and a counselor died in the torrent; the rest of the group had neither the skills nor the equipment to climb back up. They clung for four days to canyon walls, until a Park Service helicopter rescued them at a cost to taxpayers of \$60,000.

The survivors, however, are angry, and believe they should have been warned of the danger, despite the fact that the Park Service claims it told the group's leader they could expect "high, cold water." The survivors' suit against the Government reportedly seeks millions in damages.

Last year, in Canyonlands National Park in Utah, tempers flared when the Park Service announced plans to limit the size of groups that can use the back country to seven people in order to lessen the impact on the land. Groups like National Outdoor Leadership School and Outward Bound, which pride themselves on leave-no-trace camping, had a problem with the plan: it would have made their programs in the park unprofitable.

Ultimately, the park and its people-intensive users reached a compromise, but the conflict illustrates the peculiar self-interest of some groups that claim to love nature.

It was hard not to respect our enemies. They had been bombed by B-52's, bombarded with shells hurled by battleships, incinerated by napalm and white phosphorous, drenched in defoliants. They had no R & R and no Medivacs. They lived in tunnels and caves, never going home and getting no letters for as many as 10 years.

Hien and I met a woman whose husband had been killed where I had fought. She never found his body. Most likely we bulldozed him into a mass grave. That's what we did. We incinerated them, buried them alive, pushed them from helicopters. And they did their best to kill us. That's what happens in a war. What should happen after a war is what the woman said after we had talked long enough to realize her husband had been killed by my platoon, possibly by me. "That was long ago," she told me. "The war is over. Life goes on."

The Vietnamese have hundreds of thousands of M.I.A.'s. Soldiers trying to find the bodies of their lost comrades is a constant theme in Vietnamese novels and films. Their families grieve no less than ours. They know better than anyone the pain we feel. We should all search together for the answers that would help families on both sides finally end this.

I loved the men I fought beside. I feel pride in their courage and selflessness. But the time has come to say to all my buddies who are missing, as we say to those names on the wall, rest in peace. You did your best. We miss you terribly.

We fought to make Vietnam free and independent. Today it is independent. And if we engage its leaders diplomatically with the same will we showed against the Soviet Union, it will become more free. To recognize Vietnam is not to dishonor the memory of our fallen or missing comrades. It is to recognize the truth. The war is over.

## Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

## Running For My Life

WASHINGTON

Something very special has happened to me. I have been epically cursed.

I discovered this while flipping through an advance copy of a new book by Martin Fitzwater, the press secretary for Presidents Reagan and Bush. There, on page 179 of "Call the Briefing!" I came upon the curse.

It is in the section where Mr. Fitzwater recalls the shenanigans of John Sununu, George Bush's raging bull chief of staff who went on to put his ranting to good use as the conservative co-host of "Crossfire."

Mr. Sununu had to resign from his White House job after a series of high-handed moves — most memorably "Air Sununu," his profligate use of military jets for personal trips, including ski vacations and dentist appointments in Boston. (In another gloriously shabby moment, he took a Government limousine to New York to go to a stamp auction.)

As a White House reporter in the Bush years, I was intrigued by Mr. Fitzwater's unflattering description of Mr. Sununu. ("Imagine an overweight Kermit the Frog.") Then I came upon an anecdote about how the chief of staff blew up in front of White House officials in June 1991 after reading one of my Times stories about his arrogant behavior.

"I will destroy her," he said, "if it takes me the rest of my life, I will destroy her. I don't know where or when, but I'll get her." He turned on his heels. ... Our small group was stunned, afraid actually, by the depth of his venom.

Naturally, I was thrilled. I knew about epic curses, the kind they have in Rigoletto and the Bible and "The Count of Monte Cristo," marked by

## Please, Mr. Sununu, don't forgive me.

fearsome magnitude and eternal duration, red plagues and green smoke. Like David's curse over the death of Saul: "Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew or rain upon you, nor upsurging of the deep!"

But I never thought I would have one of my own.

I immediately called Mr. Sununu at home in New Hampshire to see if he was still trying to destroy me. But his wife, Nancy, said he was out. Uh, oh.

In his book, Mr. Fitzwater observes: "In fairness to John, by 1995 he had been out of government for nearly three years and had made no move to destroy Maureen Dowd."

I am not so sure. Did I detect the fine hand of Sununu on the night of July 28, 1991, when I ordered a steak at the Palm medium rare and it arrived bloody? Also, my spritzer was flat.

Just this past July Fourth, I spent the night at the Holiday Inn in Concord, N.H., and did not get a wake-up call. And you-know-who had once been Governor of the state.

And what else could explain the repeated failure of my contractor to get the right shade of peach for my living room?

Thinking it over, I decided it would be best to make up. The unofficial motto of Washington, after all, is "You'll always do lunch in this town again."

In New York, vendettas last long. Look at the Astors and the Vanderbilts, or Al and Rudy. But in Washington, no one has the courage of their feuds. To hate passionately, classically, requires a depth of feeling and conviction that is missing in the capital. The first rules governing Congress were designed to repress rage, by preventing senators from speaking to each other directly on the floor.

We appreciate hypocrisy — or flexibility, as we call it — in our provincial capital because we know that, while we may be angry at someone on a point of principle today, we will need them tomorrow for a vote or a dinner party or a gushing blurb for our book jacket.

In his 1987 book, "Curse of the Giant Muffins," Michael Kinsley, Mr. Sununu's liberal counterpart on "Crossfire," tells this story:

He once wrote a column about Charles Wick, the Reagan pal who headed the U.S. Information Agency, that included the line "By all accounts, Wick is a jackass." Two years later, Mr. Wick invited Mr. Kinsley to lunch at his club. "It seemed he had no memory of this crude public insult. Toward the end of lunch, I couldn't resist saying, 'It's nice of you to have invited me here. Mr. Wick, considering that I once wrote that you're a jackass.' Mr. Wick paused, then replied with great dignity: 'I don't mind criticism from the press, as long as it's accurate.'"

Mr. Sununu never called me back. It's just as well. I have had a change of heart about making up. Lunch I can always get. But an epic curse — that's hard to come by.



# It Was Big, It Was Fun, And That's Enough

By MICHAEL KIMMELMAN

**T**he only thing missing was a bow on top. "Wrapped Reichstag" looked like a giant present, and it was. The work by Christo and Jeanne-Claude, his wife, turned out to be a great gift to this historic city.

I came here expecting not much from the ballyhooed project and found myself swept up in it. "It" means the whole giddy affair—the revelers who turned the bleak fields around the Reichstag into Woodstock East, the art students who gathered to sketch the building, the street vendors, the posturing politicians, the store windows around Berlin suddenly filled with wrapped objects, and the billboards that used the project to hawk beer and cigarettes.

The wrapping itself had the air of a public unveiling. The last roll of fabric was unfurled by a crew of climbers who resembled Lilliputians atop Gulliver, and the four German Parliament building finally disappeared behind 60.5 tons of billowing silvery fabric held in place by 10 miles of bright blue rope. The crowd applauded; someone cranked up a hurdy-gurdy. Christo and Jeanne-Claude hugged each other and everyone else within reach.

Charlatans or shamans? With their hard-sell approach, their followers trailing them like Deadheads from one gig to the next, their self-congratulatory populism and feel-good philosophy, it's no wonder Christo and his wife have made skeptics of people, me included. I couldn't help noticing that the hard hat he wore during the wrapping had a cross on it (for Christo), while hers had J. C. Coincidence or megalomania?

Still, time and again, their projects have turned doubters into converts. It happened in 1985 with the wrapping of the Pont Neuf in Paris. It happened two years before with the 11 islands in Biscayne Bay that Christo surrounded with pink fabric. It happened with "Running Fence" in California in 1976, and with the wrapped coastline in Australia in 1969. And it happened here, where even some German officials who had blocked the Reichstag project for years jumped on the Christo bandwagon once it was done.

It was wrapped through July 6. What the project meant is anyone's guess. Part of its popular success was the symbolism people imagined it to have. Christo hatched the idea decades ago, when East and West Berlin were divided. It seemed then to be a metaphor, of some sort, for Germany's troubles. Now that the wall is down some observers are seeing it as a bundling away of the past, others as a chrysalis out of which a

new Germany will emerge. The symbolism, in other words, is whatever one makes of it.

Which is a very 60's notion. But, then, Christo is a very 60's artist. He emerged when figures like Yves Klein were making their mark in Paris and Claes Oldenburg and Jim Dine were making theirs in New York. Christo combined the cheekiness, experimentation and self-aggrandizement of Klein—who used fire and the bodies of naked women, among other things, to make pictures—with the performance aspect of Oldenburg's and Dine's Happenings.

At the same time, like Oldenburg, Christo came to see his works on a large scale. Warhol can't be discounted, either, as someone from that day who made an art of selling himself. Nor can Christo's fellow Earth artists, Robert Smithson and Michael Heizer, be overlooked. It hardly matters how much he was thinking of any of these other artists. Their ideas and his were part of the same 60's stew.

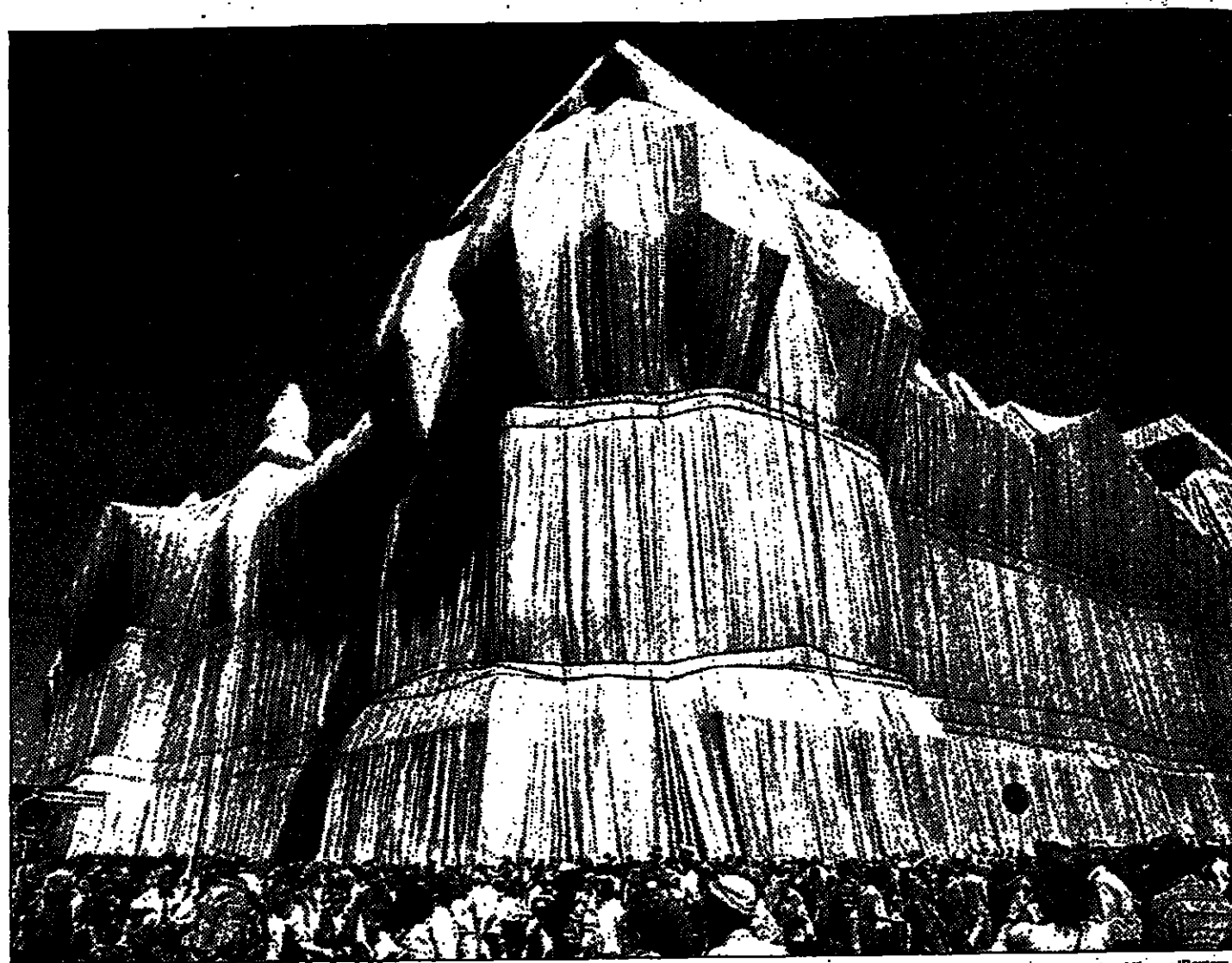
But that is only half the story. The other half, which isn't talked about as much, has to do with Christo's Eastern European roots. He was born in Bulgaria in 1935 and escaped to Paris in 1958.

It's difficult to imagine that Soviet art, which dominated Bulgaria, didn't leave a big mark. This means the utopianism of Socialist Realism, with its belief in art for Everyone. It means the gigantism of Soviet monuments like the one of Mother Russia that towers over what used to be called Stalingrad. And it means art as agitprop, an idea that goes all the way back to the Constructivist movement of the revolutionary years.

This accounts for the political aspects of Christo's art. But he extends all these notions by adding an absurdism that would have been anathema to the Soviets. He likes to talk about how his works are "absolutely irrational," which brings to mind the most obvious precedent of all: Man Ray's "Enigma of Isidore Ducasse," a 1920 photograph of a wrapped sewing machine. Christo says he hadn't known of the Man Ray when he began wrapping oil barrels, chairs, cars, even naked women, in the late 1950's. Still, the spirit of Man Ray's work is the irrationality that Christo speaks of.

Anything wrapped has about it a mystery. It implies that what's inside is valuable. It can give an erotic charge to the veiled object. When the Reichstag was only partly wrapped, I wondered why I felt unimpressed. Then I realized it was for the same reason that one is disenchanted to glimpse the mechanics backstage at the theater: it spoils the mystery.

I also realized that only after the wrap-



The Reichstag, swathed by Christo and his wife Jeanne-Claude—Their projects have turned doubters into converts.

ping was done were all the pleats, folds and ties in place. At that point, it gained an elegance that I could never have anticipated.

Christo and Jeanne-Claude (for the last few years they've insisted on joint credit) liked to say that one had to see the wrapped Reichstag at different times of day, in bright sunlight, under clouds and at night, to appreciate the range of effects their shimmering fabric could achieve. I saw it under various conditions, over several days, and the range didn't seem all that great to me. But the impact was striking, anyway: the hulking, bombastic building was transformed into an airy and evanescent form.

I thought of the Hellenistic sculptures in the Pergamon Museum here, with their goddesses in gowns, cinched above the waist

by cords. And I thought of how different the Reichstag looked from Christo's early wrappings, like the one he did of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago, in 1969. In photographs, at least, they seem tawdry, irrelevant, crude.

For his art to succeed, as the Reichstag does, or as "Running Fence" and the Pont Neuf were widely considered to have done, Christo clearly needs a big, conspicuous site. But the fine tailoring of the wrapping is important, too. It made a subtle though critical difference that he and Jeanne-Claude fiddled with the shape of the Reichstag, obscuring some of its statues behind containers and enlarging the building's corners so that it gained a sleeker presence beneath the fabric.

Christo says that his projects consist of

what happens from concept to completion, and he is proud that they pay for themselves. He sells his drawings to cover costs (more than \$10 million with the Reichstag). So for the people whose property he borrows there is only profit to be made, in tourist dollars. Not a bad deal.

And what else has been gained? Christo and Jeanne-Claude have gone on to pursue other improbable schemes. And thousands of people have enjoyed an innocent pleasure. The project was transient. But it left an afterimage of a kinder, gentler Reichstag. I, for one, can't imagine seeing it, or Berlin, the same way again. So much so-called political art nowadays struggles to make an impact, and fails. Without trying, "Wrapped Reichstag" may well have been the most effective example of political art in years.

## FILM

# A Portrait of Artaud

The obsessed founder of the Theater of Cruelty was true to his demons.

By ALBERT BERNEL

**"M**y life and times with Antonin Artaud" presents a startling resurrection of one of the most influential theater figures of the century. Gérard Mordillat's 1993 movie, which opens in New York on Wednesday, shows Artaud in his last two years and close to the end of his life. He died in 1948 at the age of 52.

As an adventurer, even a revolutionary, Artaud wrote, acted and directed obsessively. He believed that exposure to violent activities on stage left the audience relieved and refreshed by an experience similar to what Aristotle, more than 2,000 years before, had called catharsis.

Artaud's pleas for a theater that would rely on a physical language of gesture, on robotic roles that represent "great forces," on anguished voices speaking cryptic dialogue, on surreal settings and an atmosphere of crisis earned him comparisons as an innovator with Brecht and Pirandello.

In 1920, when he was 24, Artaud was living in Paris. While performing an array of roles in French dramas and films of the 20's and 30's and associating with most of the prominent directors of the time, he poured out plays and screenplays, essays and poems, as well as the second manifesto of the Surrealists.

By 1926 he had planned his first theater. He and two partners named it for Alfred Jarry, who, 30 years before, had written nose-thumbing plays about Père and Mère Ubu, that pair of plump mockeries of the French bourgeoisie. During nearly four years, the Jarry Theater mounted a total of eight performances—four of them written by the three partners and almost all directed by Artaud.

The partnership broke up, having run out of funds almost as soon as it started. By the mid-30's Artaud had organized and opened his Theater of Cruelty, a single-minded attempt to



Antonin Artaud in the movie "Le Juif Errant" (1926)—He transmitted a luminous power.

translate, revise, stage and star in "The Cenci"—originally 2,000 lines of iambic pentameter written by Shelley but reduced by Artaud to 10 crisp scenes in prose. He himself played the murderous Count Cenci and cast the blonde, titled, Russian-accented Iya Abby as Cenci's daughter. (She had limited acting experience but put up some backing for the play.) After two weeks, "The Cenci" and the Theater of Cruelty closed.

Three years later, when Gallimard published "The Theater and Its Double," a collection of Artaud's apocalyptic writings and lectures, his fame expanded in France, but by then he was in an insane asylum. In 1958, when the book came out in English and took the international theater community by storm, Artaud had been dead for 10 years.

Today, shelves of books explain and exploit his hypotheses, which have spurred theater artists to seek new approaches to nonrealistic drama. He noticeably influenced Samuel Beckett, Eugene Ionesco, Boris Vian, Arthur Adamov, Peter Weiss and their artistic siblings and offspring. And his ideas helped guide the explorations of Peter Brook, our own Living Theater, Open Theater and other experimental groups.

Mr. Mordillat bases his film (with English subtitles) on the diaries of Jacques Prévert, a young poet hungry for recognition. He had sent his work to Artaud, who was then in an asylum. In 1948, after nine years of shock therapy and petitions from the French artistic community, Artaud was released. In the movie, Prévert forces his friendship on the older man to get favorable quotes about his own poetry to show publishers.

By way of compensation, he procures laudanum, cocaine and opium for Artaud. Early on, Artaud tells him, "All the opium in Paris must be at Artaud's disposal, so that he can finish his work—and help you."

From the age of 5, when he contracted meningitis, Artaud had endured continual physical distress. By his adolescence he was dependent on pain-killers ("I desperately need a body I don't have"). He may never have been exactly insane, whatever that means, but he did undergo spells when he could not concentrate—hours or whole days when precisely what he wanted to write tortured him by eluding him.

Samuel Frey, who plays (and resembles) Artaud, conveys the artist's straining to master his disabilities by looking away from the person he addresses. He hesitates over a word, then huskily punches out a phrase as if fearing it may dissolve.

In remaining true to Prévert's work, Mr. Frey and his director cannot sum up Artaud's 52 previous, eventful years. (It is possible to see his luminous power as an actor in such films, available on video, as Abel Gance's "Napoleon" and Carl Dreyer's "Passion of Joan of Arc.") But they almost recapture him when the movie shows us a montage of grotesquely angled black-and-white takes as Artaud walks through a Paris railroad station. At the end of the film, Mr. Frey gives us Artaud's ravaged face, which must have haunted anyone who had known his early matinee-idol looks.

We catch signs of the young Artaud when Mr. Frey and Marc Barbe, who plays Prévert, lose their tempers and exchange insults that sound like primal screams. "A great success, M. Prévert," says Artaud, after the contest leaves them exhausted. "We should be on stage together."

Again, we see Artaud revive as an actor and tyrannical director while he trains a young woman for a poetry recital. As she repeats a line, he terrifies her by shouting "Louder! Louder!" He rejects narrative flow. He wants brutality, a noise that will shock and frighten her listeners.

Perhaps Artaud's new theater did not depart as radically as is often thought from the established theater. I can't resist feeling he wanted a vocal delivery not unlike Olivier's gassing rage as Othello, which so unnerved the audience that one almost heard the unspoken, collective prayer rising: "Dear God, don't let him hear me!"

## SCIENTIFIC NOMENCLATURE

By NAOMI GELLER LIPSKY / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

### ACROSS

- 1 Studied intently
- 6 Villa features
- 11 Hunt
- 16 "Rather!"
- 21 Cultural prefix
- 22 Crazies
- 23 Anthropoid's cousin
- 24 Drugged
- 25 Scientist featured in an adventure film?
- 28 For the birds
- 29 Long-necked distilling vessels
- 30 Mullah's text
- 31 Snow vehicle
- 33 Superficially cultured
- 34 Telecommunications units
- 36 Major oil corp.
- 38 Backscratcher, politically
- 42 Liberal one
- 45 Fore-and-after
- 48 Number five iron
- 49 "first you..."
- 51 With lines
- 54 Prefix with angle or borough
- 55 Austen title
- 56 "Quo Vadis?" figure
- 57 Otherwise
- 58 Yuletide
- 59 Decorates over
- 61 Scientist featured in a Southern novel?
- 66 Pulitzer author Russell
- 67 It's across the strait from Singapore
- 68 Guru's home
- 69 Celestial firework
- 71 Live and breathe!
- 73 Stimulating shrub
- 74 Number of dresses?
- 75 Type of shirt
- 76 Mountain where Dionysus was hidden
- 77 Space, to poets
- 80 Bona fide
- 82 By
- 83 B.O. and others
- 85 Sun
- 87 Prototype, for short
- 88 Six-time Emmy-winning actor
- 90 Word with Georgia or high
- 93 Stop on some art tours, with "the"
- 95 Gall
- 97 Johnny
- 98 Religious rationalist
- 100 Caribbean capital
- 102 Tropical drinks
- 104 Typist's stat.
- 106 Scientist featured in a cliff-hanger series?
- 110 Golden years
- 112 Miss Home
- 113 Beckett's homeland
- 114 Cherub, at Notre Dame
- 115 Move laterally
- 116 "What's the...?"
- 117 A Patriarch
- 119 Resident suffixes
- 120 Rubber
- 123 Gilder
- 128 Grinding tool
- 129 Alluring girls
- 130 Except
- 132 Airline at L.F.K.
- 27 Refer, with "back"
- 32 Champagne title
- 35 More bona fide
- 37 Hassock
- 39 Scientist featured in a cowboy tune?
- 40 Overseas sailor
- 41 Business owner's paper
- 42 Brewery products
- 43 Allure competitor
- 44 Give a new pew
- 46 Peanut butter choice
- 47 To the—(maximally)
- 48 Steeps
- 50 Scientist featured in a romantic ditty?
- 51 Section
- 53 More opaque
- 58 Easter precursor
- 59 Speedwagon
- 60 Sallinger heroine
- 62 Nerd
- 63 Newspaper
- 64 Insulating
- 65 Wind instrument
- 67 Title sister in an Eastwood film
- 70 Schedule abbr.
- 73 Before
- 76 No-good burn
- 78 Is revealed
- 79 Rolls, so to speak
- 81 "School Daze" director
- 84 Karate instructor
- 86 Conte—(fairly tale): Fr.
- 89 Miss Hayworth
- 91 Soap comment?
- 92 Take control of
- 94 Eastern philosophy
- 96 Bakery goodie
- 98 Timid
- 101 Dolorosa (Christ's path to the Cross)
- 103 Shade
- 104 Potter's aid
- 105 Five of trumps, in card talk
- 107 Advertisement
- 108 Lady of the Haus
- 109 Carillon sounds
- 111 Klein or Claiborne, e.g.
- 118 Marxist groups
- 121 Law school course
- 122 Actress—Dawn
- 124 Pay homage to
- 125 Beyond
- 127 Wordsmith Willard
- 129 Porcine locales
- 131 Dispossess
- 132 Arm lily
- 134 Baby bird
- 135 Duplicate
- 136 Dam site
- 138 "Peter Rabbit," for one
- 139 Sign
- 141 Unraveling: Var.
- 142 Surf sound
- 144 "Man" (Estevez film)
- 145 Jaw
- 146 dye
- 147 Map abbr.
- 149 Injection units
- 150 One of the Spanish

### DOWN

- 1 Edomite capital
- 2 Alternative
- 3 Role for Clark
- 4 Waiter's exclamation
- 5 It comes with a catch
- 6 Kind of cast
- 7 Low digit
- 8 Dupe
- 9 Dope
- 10 Second word of Kansas' motto
- 11 From that place
- 12 Series
- 13 "Lucky Jim" author
- 14 Cellular response?
- 15 Kowtow (to)
- 16 Ancestral zebra
- 17 Inexperienced
- 18 Uganda's Amin
- 19 Leaves in the cup
- 20 Directional suffix

### ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

VAMP ABANDON AMASSER  
OLEOS LUCIANO BOMANCE  
TAROT IRONIES DRACULA  
ETCHES GRASP PETS BAR  
HEY ATHENS INJURY ESTE  
CALL ADAMS LEON CUL  
GRATED SUAVE DIAPHRAN  
MISERS ORNE TIPS OSCAR  
BAW ISOBAR HIS TESTS  
BANANA ASIDES  
FACES DEN SERENE SEA  
AGAINS IRE CLAY BIGHAM  
RESTONES BRITS AROUSE  
RETIRES TOES FRONTED  
ETNA CROW BORNE  
PAWS CLOAK BEEFED HAN  
OLE STYX SOULS DUBOSE  
KINGSPIR CASIUS KHOWA  
ENCLAVE URBENS ETHAN  
RETIRES REASLES SANS



# Loud children, quiet parents can get along

PARENTING  
RUTH MASON

Our eight-year-old son talks too loudly. He seems to have no sense of what's appropriate. We're always saying "Shh..." and he responds, but then he forgets and his decibel level goes way up again. How can we help him speak more quietly?

Stuart Chesner, PhD, clinical psychologist and founder of the Maara Institute, a clinic that treats behavior and emotional problems of children and adolescents, responds:

Research shows that extroversion and loudness, and introversion and shyness are biologically based. People are born with different temperaments.

They can be modified by their basic temperaments, but your son will probably always be somewhat loud. You don't want to make a child into someone he's not.

If God happens to "punish" shy, introverted parents with loud, extroverted children, it's important for those parents not to punish their child just for being himself.

Parents need to respect the fact that everyone has his own style and to be tolerant of differences. They need not interpret the child's loudness as some sort of assault against them.

Many children who are loud are totally unaware that they're

being loud. They're just being themselves. However, people who live together under one roof need to accommodate each other.

You can discuss the problem with your child and explain specifically what you expect him to do. You could say, for example, "I'd like you to be more aware of your voice after your baby brother goes to bed," or "I'd like you not to shout at the dinner table," or "When we're in synagogue, we're going to practice whispering."

If a child is really unaware that he is loud, help him to become more aware. You might secretly tape a dinner-table conversation one day and then replay it when you are alone with him so he can hear how much airtime he takes up and how his volume compares to everyone else's.

You can make this into a game by saying, "I'm going to tape every night at dinner and see who talks the most and who talks the loudest."

It may help elevate his awareness if you set up a little behavior modification program in which you reward your son for keeping the volume down in specific circumstances.

At what point does it become an issue to be nude in front of your



child? Does it make a difference if it's a parent of the same sex? At what age should we stop taking baths with our kids?

Elanah Wernick, therapist at the Shiluv Institute for Family Therapy and at the Sex Therapy and Counseling Clinic of Misgav Ladach Hospital, comments:

The question of nudity among family members is a tricky one. It's useful to be aware of how culturally bound our ideas of nudity are.

How many of us have seen National Geographic documentaries on other cultures without blinking at the scenes of tribal meetings or families bathing in the

river in partial or full nudity? It seems so totally natural. And no one remarks about inappropriate behavior or thinks they are being sexually provocative.

But point the camera in the direction of your average, middle-class Israeli family, show them sitting naked in their living room watching TV, and the family would be labeled as exhibiting incestuous behavior and being morally depraved.

As children in our culture approach school age, they become more aware of their bodies and inquisitive about sexual differences between boys and girls. It would be advisable at this stage

of their development and for the future for parents to avoid walking around in the nude and to stop bathing with children of the opposite sex.

It is important to inculcate in children the value of privacy and sense of control over their bodies.

If children and parents of the same sex enjoy the camaraderie of "us girls" or "us boys" showering together or being in the nude, this may continue as long as both feel comfortable.

If you have a question about parenting, write to: Parenting, POB 81, 91000 Jerusalem.

# There's too much heavy metal in Haifa

EARTHLY CONCERNS  
D'VORA BEN SHAUL

According to a survey commissioned last year by the Environment Ministry, the water in Haifa Bay is polluted with heavy metals, including mercury, which is extremely toxic to humans and animals.

The survey, conducted by the Sea and Lakes Research Institute in Haifa, found that when 160 fish caught in the bay were examined, some of the older fish showed high levels of mercury in their flesh. This, according to Herut Barak, who conducted the survey and later spoke with *Koheret*, a Haifa weekly newspaper.

Prof. Shmuel Yanai of the Technion told the Hebrew press that eating as little as 400 grams a week of fish contaminated with mercury is enough to cause serious poisoning. Usually, the human body is capable of excreting only minute amounts of heavy metal. Accordingly, Yanai recommended that people eat no more than one small slice a week of fish from this source.

According to *City Lights*, an English-language weekly in Tel Aviv, the Health Ministry issued a statement in reaction to these findings in which it warned that "people should not buy fish in open markets where the sales staff have no way of knowing where the fish come from, or any way of checking the fish."

But neither Yanai nor anyone else was surprised to hear the results of the most recent report. Previous surveys have shown high levels of organic mercury and other highly toxic metals in fish from Haifa Bay. In the Sixties, when news of mercury contamination in Haifa Bay first be-

came public, then health minister Victor Shemtov suggested on *Israel Radio* that "maybe a little mercury is good for you."

The Health Ministry knows very well that the fish in Haifa Bay are contaminated. The Bureau of Fisheries and the Ports Authority also know about the contamination. Yet no one has done anything to prevent the catching and marketing of fish from the area. The Labor Ministry is aware that workers at a number of factories in the Haifa area have suffered from exposure to mercury and other dangerous metals, but nothing has been done about this either, and workers are still being exposed to the same poisons.

Perhaps most disturbing of all is the fact that the authorities know that these factories dump liquid wastes containing pollutants into the bay. They also know that this is in direct violation of the law, but they do nothing about it.

To its credit, the Environment Ministry did commission a new survey (even though it had enough material available from previous surveys to immediately take action without waiting for additional evidence).

And even now, with the last survey already a year old, there's still no real sign of action.

The public cannot possibly police the sources of the food it buys on the open market, nor should it be expected to do so.

It is the duty of the authorities to see to it that all food that reaches these licensed markets is safe for human consumption. Anything else is only the most cynical buck-passing.

# Questions remain about kashrut of meat from out of town

LAW REPORT

ASHER FELIX LANDAU

In the Supreme Court, sitting as a High Court of Justice, before the deputy-president, Justice Aharon Barak, and justices Gvuriel Bach and Ya'acov Kedmi, in the matter of *Marbek Industries Ltd., petitioner, versus the Netanya Chief Rabbinate and others, respondents* (H.C. 3944/92).

MARBEEK operates a slaughterhouse in Be'er Tuvia. Its slaughtering and manufacturing operations are under the supervision of the Tel Aviv Rabbinate.

For about six months during 1991 and 1992 Marbek sold its products in Netanya. However, in May 1992 the Netanya Rabbinate informed all the butcher shops in the city that kashrut certificates would be withdrawn from all those selling meat not slaughtered in Netanya. Marbek regarded this directive as unlawful and petitioned the Supreme Court, sitting as a High Court of Justice, to set it aside.

JUSTICE BACH delivered the first judgment of the court. The respondents had submitted, he said, that Marbek had no standing to petition the court, for it was the Netanya butchers who had been deprived of their kashrut certificates, and not Marbek. Moreover, section 12 of the Kashrut (Prohibition of Deceit) Law of 1983 gave the butchers a right of appeal to the Israeli Chief Rabbinate, and such an appeal

should have been adjudged before a petition was presented to the High Court of Justice.

Justice Bach rejected both submissions. It was amply clear, he said, that the rabbinate's decision directly prejudiced Marbek's interests, both financially and in curtailing its freedom of occupation. Both were worthy of protection, and Marbek would have standing even before the widening of the court's powers of review in recent years.

Section 12 also did not avail the respondents, for it gave a right of appeal to an applicant who had been refused a kashrut certificate. Marbek had neither requested nor been refused one.

Marbek, he continued, argued that the Netanya Rabbinate had exceeded its powers in questioning the kashrut certificate it had received from the Tel Aviv Rabbinate; section 2(a)(2) of the Law empowered, inter alios, a local rabbi to issue such a certificate in respect of a "local slaughterhouse"; he had no power to reject meat slaughtered elsewhere.

The above argument, he said, was based on a misunderstanding. The Netanya Rabbinate had in no way questioned Marbek's slaughtering procedures. It had, however, relied on what could happen to the meat in transit from Be'er Tuvia to Netanya.

The court had already held, Justice Bach noted, that, under section 2(a)(2), the court could review how a rabbi exercised his

discretion, just as it could review decisions of any other administrative authority. A rabbi had to act strictly and fairly within his powers under the law.

Under section 11 of the Law, a rabbi issuing a kashrut certificate "shall have regard to the kashrut laws only." The court had held in Raskin's case (H.C. 465/89, *The Jerusalem Post Law Reports*, p.150), that "kashrut laws only" in the above section meant the "hard core" of those laws relating directly to the kashrut of the food. The rabbi was to overlook other considerations, even if they were mentioned in Halacha.

Marbek had argued that the ban on meat slaughtered in another area was one of the "side" considerations, falling beyond the "hard core" which the rabbi was entitled to weigh. His decision in the present case, therefore, was unlawful.

Justice Bach then examined the Halacha relating to "outside slaughtering." Citing many sources, he said there were two reasons for the ban. One was lack of confidence in slaughterers in villages and small towns who were either unqualified or whose lifestyle was unacceptable. The second reason was economic, relating to the income of local slaughterers and the payment of

taxes to the community.

In view of the history of the Netanya ban, he continued, he was not prepared to hold that it was instituted to protect local slaughterers, for it was also partly based on genuine concern with kashrut. The Israeli Chief Rabbinate agreed and he would not overrule it.

He also noted that the court had already accepted without doubt that the ban was a recognized rule of Halacha relating to kashrut (in H.C. 44/86), although that case was decided on a different point. There was, therefore, no legal flaw, said Justice Bach, in the Netanya Rabbinate having relied on the ban against out-of-town slaughterers in its decision.

Marbek had contended there were rabbinates which recognized the kashrut of meat slaughtered elsewhere; if the Netanya rabbinate could act otherwise, there would be no clear law as to what course to follow.

However, Justice Bach noted that the Israeli Chief Rabbinate's policy was to leave that issue to the decision of each rabbinate after considering the circumstances in its particular area. Moreover, he stressed that the question of the kashrut supervision of meat—particularly fresh meat—conveyed from one area to another

was not to be treated lightly, as was illustrated in Meatreal's case (H.C. 5009/94, *The Jerusalem Post*, March 6, 1995).

He then dealt in some detail with a number of Marbek's factual submissions to show that the rabbinate had acted in bad faith, or had weighed irrelevant considerations. It had, for example, issued a kashrut certificate to a butcher shop which sold meat slaughtered in Hadera; it had permitted the large chain stores in Netanya to sell meat slaughtered elsewhere; it had permitted the sale of meat from Marbek for six months and before Pessah.

Netanya's chief rabbi had also expressed fears about the economic consequences of closing his city's slaughterhouse if Marbek's petition were to be allowed.

After full consideration, Justice Bach was not convinced that the rabbinate had acted unlawfully. There had indeed been deviations from the policy of rejecting meat slaughtered elsewhere, but there was a reasonable explanation for each. For example, the big chains made sure there was full supervision of meat during transit to its stores. The evidence did not justify rejecting the rabbinate's claim that kashrut was the real and dominating element in its decisions.

Although the rabbinate's attitude seemed somewhat obstinate, Justice Bach concluded, there was no legal ground for setting its decision aside. It was to be hoped that a suitable arrangement would be made to satisfy the demands of both parties.

He proposed, therefore, that the petition be dismissed, with no order as to costs.

JUSTICE KEDMI concurred.

for in his view more could be done to solve the difficulty discussed. The real problem was not one of kashrut, but the failure of the parties to find the proper remedy. It was inconceivable that in these days a way could not be found to ensure the kashrut of the meat during its transportation to Netanya.

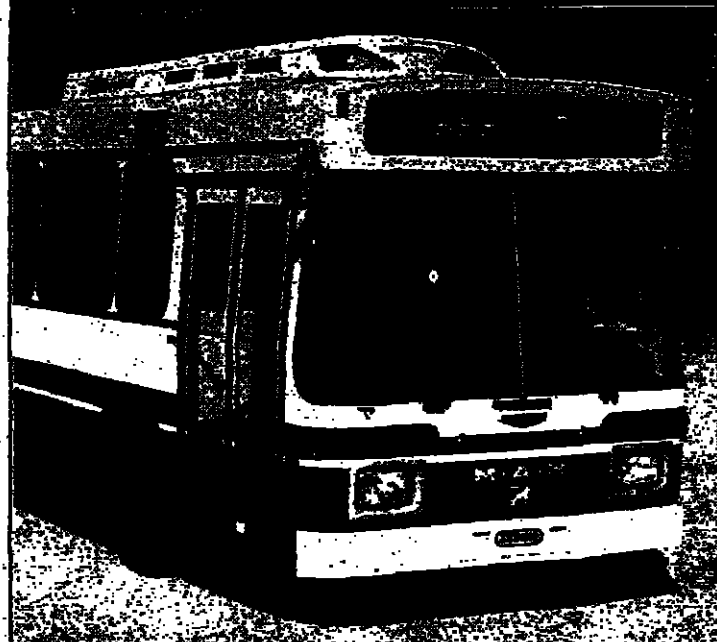
If the parties could not find the way, the Israeli Chief Rabbinate and the court itself were ready to assist them.

Justice Barak agreed with his colleagues.

FOR THE above reasons the petition was dismissed, with no order as to costs. Moshe Goldberg and Tamir Sela appeared for Marbek, Aran Peles appeared for the Netanya Rabbinate and Religious Council, and Yehuda Shefer appeared for the Israeli Chief Rabbinate.

The judgment was given on February 2, 1995.

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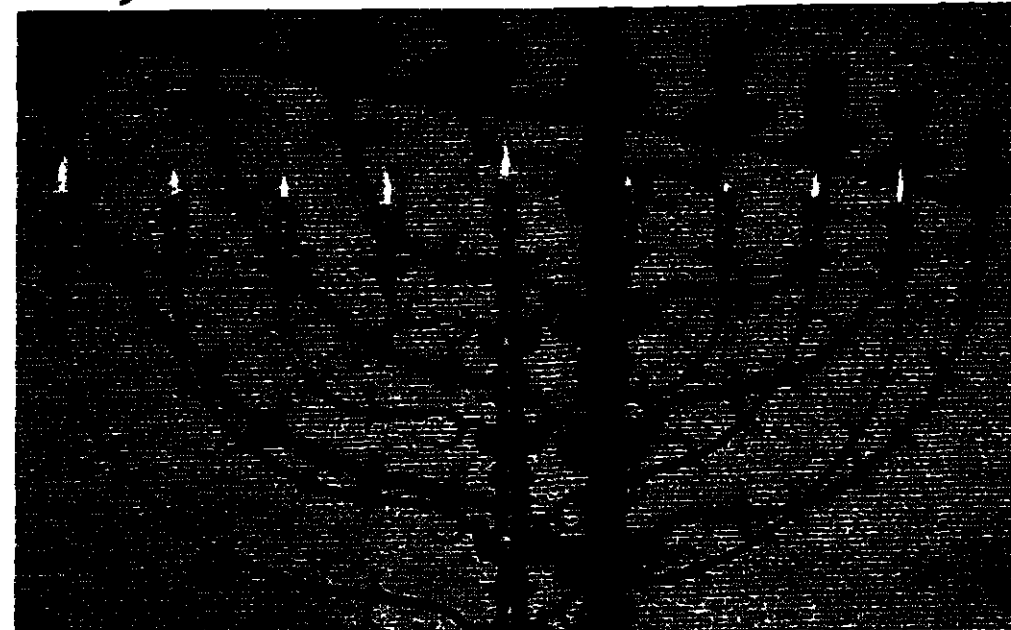
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The dates: Tuesday, October 17 - Friday, October 27.

The price: US\$ 2,199 per person sharing a double room, includes flight, all touring, lectures and entrances, daily buffet breakfast and kosher meals on Shabbat. Local English speaking guide and escort from Israel. Insurance and visas extra.

Full details from:  
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Jo-Anne Greenblatt 02-342079, Debbie Zuberl 02-345191 Fax: 02-255329

## BUSINESS &amp; FINANCE

MONDAY, JULY 17, 1995

## Court orders ILA to justify extra compensation to kibbutzim

EVELYN GORDON

THE High Court of Justice yesterday gave the Israel Lands Administration 15 days to justify two decisions granting preferential compensation to kibbutzim and moshavim whose agricultural lands are retaken by the state.

The order was issued in response to two petitions, filed by Mehadrin Ltd. and the Farmers Association.

ILA decisions 717 and 727 are essentially identical to decisions 666 and 667, which were overturned by the High Court a month ago because two officials

of the kibbutz and moshav movements who participated in the decisions should have been disqualified due to a conflict of interest.

The decisions state that kibbutzim and moshavim whose lands are repossessed by the state for rezoning will be compensated at 27%-29% of the lands' new value, even though the standard lease agreement with the ILA sets compensation at only 25% of the old value.

Other people whose lands are

retaken for the same purpose, however, will be compensated only according to the standard lease agreement.

The petitions argue that the new decisions, like the old, are discriminatory. Both small farmers and companies such as Mehadrin depend on their land for a living just as much as the kibbutzim and moshavim do, the petitions said, so there is no justification for giving the kibbutzim and moshavim preferential

treatment.

Property rights are a basic right, the petitions added, so infringing on them in a discriminatory fashion is justifiable only to serve some essential purpose — not just to save money.

Finally, the petitions said, the ILA council did not exercise its own judgment — as it is legally required to do — when making these decisions.

Instead, it simply rubber-stamped the cabinet's decision, without even considering the question of discrimination.

## Newer kibbutzim's debt plan to cost NIS 243m.

JOSE ROSENFELD

arrangement.

The banks and other creditors will forgive most of the kibbutzim's debt, in conjunction with the government, except for about NIS 20m. that the kibbutzim will repay.

The kibbutzim will first repay their debts to the Jewish Agency and whatever remains will go to their other creditors.

The repayment period will stretch for 20 years at an index-

linked interest rate of 4.5%.

The government will cover 35% of the debt to the banks and other creditors and 13.13% of the debt to mortgage banks. It will also forgive some NIS \$7.5m. in state-guaranteed housing loans.

The cabinet has already approved a NIS 6 billion follow-on debt arrangement for the more established kibbutzim, where the kibbutzim will contribute NIS 2b. in land and the government will pay 35% of the remaining debt and the banks will write-off 65%.

## BUSINESS BRIEFS

**Cabinet approves NIS 3 billion to expand ports:** The cabinet yesterday unanimously approved a NIS 3 billion plan to expand the ports of Haifa and Ashdod, to enable them to handle the increased passenger and shipping traffic expected as a result of the peace process. Transport Minister Yisrael Kessur noted the ports need improved facilities to better compete with other Mediterranean ports.

"The peace process has brought with it sharp competition between Mediterranean ports," he said. "Haifa and Ashdod ports are likely to find themselves in the coming years in heated competition with ports in Lebanon and Syria."

Jerusalem Post Staff

**NIS 1b. in budget approved for Druse, Circassians:** The cabinet yesterday approved Finance Minister Avraham Shohat's proposal to provide Druse and Circassians localities NIS 1 billion in development budgets, including a NIS 120 million contribution from local authorities.

In addition, the cabinet approved Shohat's approval to grant development zone A status for education matters to Dalia al-Carmel and Usfiya.

Jose Rosenfeld

**This year's Modern Living Fair,** which closed Saturday night in Tel Aviv, drew some 270,000 visitors and had sales totaling NIS 1 billion, the Trade Fairs Center reports. The first-time participants from the Philippines chalked up sales of NIS 1.5m., mostly in furniture, while the Indian and Chinese exhibitions each had NIS 500,000 in business.

Martha Meisels

**Businessman Eliezer Fishman** yesterday announced the establishment of Mega-Sport, a sports super-store. Fishman — an interest holder in Industrial Buildings, Alliance Tires, Globes and Super Greenberg — will own 50 percent of Mega Sport. The remainder will be owned in equal parts by Ariel Koniak and Avi Horowitz (25%) and the Mitzpeh Kinneret group of Dovrat Shrem (25%). The initial investment was reported at \$15m. in eight stores.

Rachel Neiman

**Holiday Inn building in Lod:** Africa-Israel is planning to build its first Holiday Inn Express hotel in Lod, as part of a \$65 million office and hi-tech center. The 100-room hotel is to be the Holiday Inn chain's first hotel in the popular price bracket outside of the US and Europe.

Haim Shapiro

**Galilee Herbal Remedies (GHR)** Migraleaf capsules will be marketed in the US by Neutriceuticals of Utah, following the US Food and Drug Administration decision recently to approve Migraleaf as a health food supplement, the company announced yesterday.

Galit Lipkis Beck

## Electronics for Imaging posts 84% increase in net earnings

## COMPANY RESULTS

RACHEL NEIMAN

**ELECTRONICS for Imaging** posted a 84 percent rise in second quarter net profits to \$8.28 million from \$4.4m. during the parallel 1994 period.

Earnings per share rose to \$0.63 from \$0.36. Quarterly revenues went up to \$44.8m. from \$30m.

EPI also announced it has signed a worldwide OEM agreement with the Dutch-based Océ Group, a major manufacturer and supplier of office and engineering systems products.

Océ color copiers are based on Canon engines.

The California-based company's buy ratings were reiterated by Prudential and Unterberg Harris and continue to be named a market performer by Robertson Stephens.

● **Robomatix** reported a \$9.5m. loss last year, compared with a \$917,000 loss in 1993.

Annual revenues decreased to \$6m. from \$9.6m.

The decrease was attributed largely to a \$2.5m. reduction in Robotics Unit sales, increased research and development costs to \$2.18m. from \$894,000, and high-

er selling and administrative costs.

Robomatix has undergone a restructuring program to divide the company into four units, reduce the staff by 50 employees, reorganize and relocate its German subsidiary and the replacement of the company's CFO.

Additional funding of \$1.6m. has been granted in the form of loans by its principal shareholder.

Efforts are now underway to postpone repayment of \$1.5m. in state-guaranteed loans due this year.

## Strauss hopes to hold onto 90% of its ice cream market

RACHEL NEIMAN

**STRAUSS** hopes to hold onto at least 90 percent of its summer ice cream market following the fire that damaged its Acco facility earlier this month.

The fire came at the worst time for the company, as July and August are considered the peak of the six-month long ice cream high season.

Strauss estimates annual turnover from ice cream sales at \$60m., or between 25 percent and 33% of the country's total

market.

Within one month of the fire Strauss estimates it will have restored 60% of the Acco plant's production capacity.

The company has taken three major steps since the fire to keep up production — restoring partial production, finding alternative production and importing Unilever products.

The cause of the fire is still unknown and final damage costs have not yet been assessed.

## 23% rise in firms facing difficulties

THE number of firms encountering difficulties rose 23 percent during the first half of the year to a monthly average of 2,160 from an average of 1,755 last year, Business Data Israel reported.

Since the start of the year, 12,961 businesses have experienced hardships, increasing the total number of companies listed on BDI's red list to 64,770.

The number of firms encountering low liquidity problems and delays in payment was 14,835, while 2,738 had business problems and another 5,745 suffered from other difficulties, BDI reported.

Galit Lipkis Beck

## Mizrahi cuts overdraft rate

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

**UNITED Mizrahi Bank** announced yesterday that it has reduced from 18.7 percent to 17.5% the interest it charges on overdrafts of between NIS 10,000 and NIS 20,000 for salary earners.

The other commercial banks, which have overdraft rates of between 17.7% and 18.9%, said they are waiting for the Bank of Israel to cut interest rates before they do so.

The Bank of Israel is expected

to announce a change in rates in about 10 days, following the 0.3% increase in the June Consumer Price Index published last Friday.

The banks forecast the Bank of Israel will reduce interest rates by 0.5 percentage points.

Mizrahi said a customer borrowing NIS 15,000 from the bank for one year will now have to pay interest of NIS 2,625, compared with NIS 2,805 in interest previously.

## ISRAELI MONEY MARKETS

Patah (foreign currency deposit rates) (16.7.95)			
Currency (deposit for)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$250,000)	4.875	4.875	4.875
Pound sterling (£100,000)	4.750	4.675	5.250
German mark (DM 200,000)	3.000	3.000	3.375
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	1.625	1.750	2.250
Yen (10 million yen)			

(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates* (14.7.95)			
Currency	Buy	Sell	Bank of Israel
U.S. dollar	2.3815	2.4450	2.4200
German mark	2.0942	2.1280	2.1100
Pound sterling	3.6462	4.7212	4.5500
French franc	0.0005	0.00102	0.0005
Japanese yen (100)	3.3222	3.3788	3.3500
Dutch guilder	1.8898	1.9288	1.9000
Swiss franc	2.3337	2.5441	2.4500
Swedish krona	0.4059	0.4124	0.4080
Norwegian krona	0.4711	0.4787	0.4750
Denmark krone	0.5372	0.5459	0.5400
Finnish mark	0.0035	0.0046	0.0037
Canadian dollar	0.4711	0.4787	0.4750
Australian dollar	2.1278	2.1622	2.1450
S. African rand	0.7878	0.8107	0.7925
Belgian franc (10)	1.0181	1.0348	1.0264
Austrian schilling (10)	2.9787	3.0288	3.0038
Italian lire (1000)	1.8059	1.8361	1.8210
Jordanian dinar	—	—	4.34
Egyptian pound	—	—	0.90
ECU	3.6752	3.6758	3.6754
Irish punt	4.7780	4.8531	4.8150
Spanish peseta (100)	2.4458	2.4853	2.4650

\* These rates vary according to bank. \*\* Bank of Israel.

SOURCE: BANK LEUMI

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ISRAEL DISCOUNT B







## Pantani wins 14th stage; Indurain leads overall

GUZET-NEIGE (AP) — Italy's Marco Pantani took yesterday's 14th stage of the Tour de France as the race came to the edge of the Pyrenees.

Miguel Indurain came in third and held the overall lead with a rest day today before the Tour starts two days in the mountains.

Pantani took his second stage of this year's Tour by attacking as the pack started the last 40 kilometers with four climbs of varying degrees on the leg from St. Orens de Gameville to Guzet-Neige, 164km.

He built up an advantage of almost three minutes over the pack entering the final climb, rated first on the Tour's definition of steepness, length and difficulty from four to one with one being the hardest.

With rain and fog over the last hour of the race, Pantani won by about two minutes 30 seconds over Laurent Madouas of France.

Indurain was in the main pack until the last 4km, then accelerated to almost catch Madouas at the finish with Alex Zülle of Switzerland, second overall, also in the same time.

Pantani was third in last year's Tour and had won the hard L'Alpe d'Huez stage earlier in the week.

The Tour ends Sunday in Paris.



IL PRIMO — Marco Pantani exults after crossing the finish line in yesterday's 14th stage. (AP)

## Top local racket gets sponsorship

EYAL Ran, Israel's top tennis player from Kiryat Ono, was rewarded last week with a sponsorship by Shop, a construction company from Ran's home town, to the tune of NIS 35,000.

The check, given to 22-year-old Ran by Shop director-general Amnon Safran, was in recognition of his achievements in becoming Israel's No. 1 player and reaching 186 in the IBM/ATP rankings.

Heather Chait

## Cohen No. 1 golfer

AVI Cohen, 38, from Or Akiva won the national golf championship at Caesarea yesterday.

## Graf may leave Germany due to tax problems

BONN (AP) — Embroiled in a tax scandal she says is groundless, tennis star Steffi Graf may abandon Germany for a more inviting financial haven, she said in her first interview since the investigation was announced.

The world's top-ranked woman's tennis player and her father, Peter Graf, are suspected of tax evasion, German newspapers reported this week.

Fifteen tax inspectors searched her Heidelberg home and others searched the Brühl family villa on May 23.

In an interview on ZDF television Saturday, Graf displayed little knowledge about her financial affairs but said she was absolutely sure that her father and accountants had acted "totally correctly."

Any apparent irregularities will certainly be cleared up, Graf said, but she understands the investigation could take five to 10 years and in the meantime she's thinking of departing Germany.

Other German sports stars like tennis player Boris Becker and race car driver Michael Schumacher have transferred their residences to Monaco or other countries with lower tax burdens.

Graf's fortune from tournaments and endorsements in her 13-year career is estimated at \$70 million — her tennis winnings this year alone are \$1,388,855.

## SPORTS

# Herbert wins British Grand Prix

Schumacher, Hill collide; Coulthard cited for pit stop speeding

SILVERSTONE (Reuters) — Briton Johnny Herbert drove to a highly popular first triumph of his Formula One career yesterday when he capitalized on a crash involving Damon Hill and Michael Schumacher to win the British Grand Prix.

Herbert, driving a Benetton, resisted a late challenge from Frenchman Jean Alesi's Ferrari and rode his luck with aplomb to win by more than 16 seconds in 1 hour, 34 minutes and 35.093 seconds (average speed 195.682 kph).

Alesi came home second for Ferrari 16.479 seconds behind and another Briton, David Coulthard, finished third in a Williams, 23.888 off the pace.

Coulthard was unlucky not to win himself after passing Herbert with 12 laps remaining but he received a 10-second penalty for speeding in the pit lane.

Both Alesi and Coulthard shared in the delight of a capacity all-ticket 90,000 crowd by sweeping Herbert onto their shoulders on the victors' rostrum after the race.

Herbert's win ensured that Benetton remained clear leaders in the constructors'

world championship but left Schumacher and Hill at the head of the drivers' title race still separated by 11 points.

Hill, on a two-stop strategy, had led the opening 23 laps of what proved to be a thrilling 61-lap contest, but lost out on strategy once again.

He recovered his lead when Schumacher pitted for his only time but lost it again after his own second stop and his desperation to pass the defending world champion in the final stages of the race led to their collision on lap 45.

Schumacher was leading by only four-tenths of a second with Hill right behind when the Briton, in a Williams, dived down the inside at Priory Corner but failed to brake in time as the German moved into the corner.

Hill drove into Schumacher's car in a collision reminiscent of the famous accidents of the past involving Frenchman Alain Prost and his great rival Ayrton Senna as once again both men were removed from the race as they spun off into the sand trap.

The Schumacher-Hill crash was the most sensational flashpoint of an exciting race

which brought the rivalry of the two leading protagonists for the championship to a dramatic head.

But the entire race, which featured six changes of lead before heavy rain fell at the checkered flag, provided enormous entertainment.

Frenchman Olivier Panis, in a Ligier, grabbed fourth place on the final lap after a collision between Brazilian Rubens Barrichello in a Jordan and Briton Mark Blundell in a McLaren had eliminated the South American.

Blundell limped home on only three wheels, his car's fourth having been severely damaged and leaving him running along on the bare rim.

Hill said: "I'm bitterly disappointed. It was a racing accident. I thought I was justified in making a move and I'm very sorry for my fans."

Schumacher said: "The track was greasy, but realistically you just cannot overtake there. It was unnecessary. I understand Damon wanting to win his home Grand Prix, but it was a crazy move."

## Nat'l softball team finishes 5th in Europe

CHARLES HARRIS

THE National softball team used 13 hits and solid pitching from Ari Kanterewicz to beat France 16-5 yesterday, taking fifth place in the Second European Championships in Horsbøl, Denmark.

Kanterewicz, who went the distance for his second win, scattered four hits and three earned runs while striking out six.

The game was never in doubt as Israel scored six runs in the first, three runs in the second, two in the third and five in the fourth inning. The game was halted after five innings due to the slaughter rule.

Stu Schrader led the squad with two hits and three runs scored. He was named the team's MVP.

Eli Groner, Blair Portnoy, Tal Kitoka and Stan Shriger each collected two hits in the victory.

Israel finished with a 3-2 record while Denmark and Holland will decide the European champion in a double elimination final series. The Czech Republic finished in third followed by Slovakia. After Israel came France, Norway, Germany and Russia.

## Johnson whiffs 16 in shutout

TORONTO (AP) — Randy Johnson struck out 16 and pitched a three-hitter as the Seattle Mariners shut out the Toronto Blue Jays, 3-0, on Saturday.

The 16 strikeouts tied Hideo Nomo's performance for Los Angeles on June 14.

Johnson (10-1) leads the majors with 168 strikeouts. It was his fourth win in a row, and fourth complete game of the season and his second shutout.

Twins 8, Yankees 5  
Kirby Puckett hit a three-run homer and Pedro Munoz had a controversial home run as Minnesota won on the road.

Puckett connected in the first inning off Yanks' Scott Kamieniecki (0-2). Kamieniecki gave up five runs on seven hits and two walks in 3 1/2 innings.

Munoz hit a solo home run in the third that tied it at 4. First base umpire Rich Garcia called Munoz's opposite-field drive fair, even though television replays showed it was foul.

Cleveland 7, Oakland 2  
Manny Ramirez homered and drove in three runs for host Cleveland.

Alvaro Espinoza also drove in three runs for the Indians, who have won 13 of their last 17 games. Oakland has lost nine in a row against Cleveland.

Orel Hershey (6-4) pitched seven innings in his first win since June 5. Steve Ontiveros (8-4) was the loser.

### NATIONAL LEAGUE

Dodgers 3, Marlins 1

Hideo Nomo pitched a shut-out to win his seventh straight decision and also got his first major-league hit for host Los Angeles.

Nomo (7-1) struck out 10, improving his NL-leading total to 129. He walked none for the first time in his 14 starts for the Dodgers.

Nomo, who pitched two scoreless innings of one-hit ball in Tuesday's All-Star game, struck out consecutive batters in between an infield single by Greg Colburn in the second inning and a one-out single up the middle by

Quilvio Vera in the sixth. It was Nomo's third complete game and third straight at home.

Nomo bowed out of the season on an 0-1 pitch from Bobby Witt (1-7) with two outs in the seventh, ending an 0-for-35 drought.

Rockies 5, Mets 4

Larry Walker hit a two-run double in the top of the third inning that finished ailing Mets pitcher Bret Saberhagen.

Saberhagen (5-5), the subject of several trade rumors, left with a strained muscle in his left side. His condition was listed as day-to-day.

### AMERICAN LEAGUE

East Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Boston	40	31	.565	—
Texas	37	35	.514	5.5
Baltimore	34	37	.479	8
New York	32	41	.444	12
Toronto	28	42	.408	11

Central Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cleveland	48	21	.700	—
Kansas City	41	31	.569	13.5
Minnesota	37	38	.493	14.5
Chicago	29	41	.414	20
St. Louis	24	47	.338	25.5

West Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
California	41	30	.577	—
Oakland	37	38	.493	5
Seattle	35	37	.486	6.5

### SATURDAY'S AL RESULTS:

Texas 7, Boston 2  
Baltimore 5, Kansas City 1  
Minnesota 8, New York 5  
Cleveland 7, Oakland 2  
Milwaukee 9, Chicago 5  
Seattle 3, Toronto 0  
California at Detroit (ppd., rain)

### SATURDAY'S NL RESULTS:

Montreal 5, Philadelphia 4  
Colorado 5, New York 4  
Atlanta 7, San Diego 6  
Cincinnati 4, Chicago 3  
Pittsburgh 9, St. Louis 2  
Los Angeles 3, Florida 1  
Houston 15, San Francisco 9

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## Real Estate & Investments in Israel

Just before Rosh HaShana, The Jerusalem Post

will publish special supplements, devoted to real estate and investments in Israel.

The supplements will be published in the International Editions of

September 4, 11 and 18 and in the daily paper on

September 22.

For more information and to advertise in these supplements, please contact

Udi Bash, 03-6390333, Fax 03-6390277.

## NEED A SUMMER BREAK?

Gotta get away from honking horns, demanding bosses, stifling heat? No passports, no plane tickets needed. Join the small, friendly community of Caesarea for a week or so, in your very own cottage or garden apartment.

We have 2 and 3 bedroom homes for rent. All are squeaky clean, fully air-conditioned and completely furnished and outfitted for holiday makers. All are within walking distance of the sea and Country Club. The lawns are green and the beds are comfortable.

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Service with a North American accent. Please phone 08-288178 or fax 08-361048 and ask for Barbara or Ania.

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### GENERAL

#### DWELLINGS

##### WHERE TO STAY

JERUSALEM INN GUESTHOUSE: family rooms with private bathroom, reasonable rates. City center. Tel. 02-252757, Fax 02-251297.

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ENGLISH-SPEAKING MEN FOR CARIBBEAN cruise ships. Public speaking experience required. Tel. 03-6298802.

### VEHICLES

DIPLOMATIC VEHICLE: Ford Sierra Estate 1.8L, automatic, 1989. High mileage, bodywork & engine need attention. Offers to British Embassy, 192 Heyerton St. Tel. 02-723000 in Tuesday July 18, 1995. Sealed bids only.

### UNRESTRICTED

PEUGEOT 405 GR, 1990, good condition, 88,000 km, power steering, air conditioning, original owner. Tel. 02-5582568.

### PASSPORT

PASSPORT TO PASSPORT, Lincoln Town Car, 1985, new, bargain. Tel. 03-5763811, 03-277293.

PASSAT WAGON, 1900 cc, '92, low mileage, great condition, NIS 53,000. Tel. 04-40425.

1994 SILVER HYUNDAI LANTRA, manual, 25,000 kms., warranty, extras. Tel. 03-9699817.

'92 TOYOTA PREVIA, MINI-VAN, like new, for new immigrant only. Tel. 02-724828.

### JERUSALEM

#### DWELLINGS

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BEIT HAKEREM, monthly rental, 4, beautiful, large living room, magnificent kitchen, completely furnished, quiet, \$1,300, immediate. Exclusive to HANEEMAN YONI (Maidan), Tel. 02-384581.

GAN BEHAVIA, 2.5, 1st floor, kosher kitchen, partially furnished, long/short term, Tel. 02-837908.

NEAR KING DAVID HOTEL, 2-room, newly furnished, \$50 per day, immediate. Tel. 02-273660 (NIS).

IN KEREM VILLA, 5, garden + spectacular view, fully equipped + furnished, \$2,800, long/short-term. Work: Tel. 02-234754, owner.

GEDUD HAIVRI, 3, furnished, quiet, sunny, pretty, \$650. Homecare, Tel. 02-6519916.

GARDENER'S DELIGHT: 3-room house + 1/2 dunam garden in Maaz Zion. Huge, sunny living room + kosher kitchen. Fully furnished, 3-year lease available. Tel. 02-330205, NIS.

MIGDAL MEGIDDO, 3 rooms, 2 baths, completely furnished. Available August 15. Nov. mber 15. \$1200. Tel. 02-251374.

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ITALIAN COLONY. Last few choice luxury apartments. Parking, garden, balconies. On private land. From \$275,000. Tel. 02-617868, 02-666571.

SPECIAL OFFER - REHAVIA - last 2 luxury apartments, new building, 3, private garden, storeroom, \$298,000, 3, entrance level, high ceilings, balcony, \$288,000. Exclusive to ISRA-BUILD, Tel. 02-666571.

OLD KATAMON, 3.5 rooms, 2nd floor, top, large balcony, quiet + special place, large view, \$240,000. Exclusive to HANEEMAN YONI (Maidan), Tel. 02-384581.

RAMOT 05, magnificent villa, well arranged, excellent location, view, improved, large garden, \$750,000. Exclusive HANEEMAN YONI (Maidan), Tel. 02-384581.

HERZLIYA B, two-family, 250 sq.m., built on 400 sq.m. plot, \$880,000, possibly for rent. Tel. 060-232424, 09-583657.

REHAVIA (Ramban St.) 133 sq.m., 4 + 1/2 bath, 2 balconies, 3rd floor. Tel. 02-343791 (NIS).

TOURIST! Lovely, furnished apartment near Dizengoff, sea, air-conditioning, immediate. Tel. 03-5991157.

### PURCHASE/SALE

FOR SALE  
3/4 SIZE CELLO with bow, \$850. Tel. 02-765369 (NIS).

### VEHICLES

ARIE PALOGUE - QUALITY CARS: buying, selling, leasing, trading. Tel. 02-734538; Fax 02-734518.

### TEL AVIV



WHAT'S ON

CRITIC'S CHOICE

CLASSICAL MUSIC

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

OPERA buffs alert! It's that time of year again. Joan Dornemann, one of the most important opera coaches in the world, is back in town for the best summer show ever - the annual opera workshop organized by the Israel Vocal Arts Institute and the New Israeli Opera. The workshop, which opened yesterday and continues until August 19, features a series of open master classes with some of the finest teachers around. The first three master classes, tonight through Wednesday, are presented by Dornemann herself. They start at 7 p.m. at the Israel Music Conservatory on Shtriker St. in Tel Aviv. Admission is NIS 10.

Dutch flutist Abbie de Quant and pianist Bart Berman present a recital tonight (8:30) at the Horace Richter Gallery in old Jaffa, playing selections from Haydn, Dutilleul and Poulenc as well as some less familiar composers such as Theobald Boehm, Isang Yun, Philippe Gaubert and Willem Fijper.



The over-40 set gets its chance in 'So Sorry,' choreographed by Paul Lightfoot and danced at the Tel Aviv Performing Arts Center by NDT3. (Jeanne Solari)

DANCE

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

JIRI Kylian's Nederlands Dans Theater concludes its extensive local tour tonight (8:30) with a performance by NDT 3, the company's senior ensemble, whose four performers are all over 40. It presents a mixed program of seven dance works (by Kylian and other choreographers) including Martha Clarke's haunting *Nocturne* and Paul Lightfoot's *So Sorry*. At the Tel Aviv Performing Arts Center.

THEATER

HELEN KAYE

OMRI Nitzan's sparkling interpretation of Gol-

doni's *A Servant of Two Masters* at Habimah is a must. Shmuel Vilosny as the resourceful servant and Rama Messinger as his daffy girlfriend are masterful. Tonight through Wednesday at Rovina Hall at 8:30 p.m. (Hebrew)

TELEVISION

RUTH KERN

DEVOTEES of English murder-mysteries can enjoy a double treat today, as Inspectors Morse and Wexford turn their agile minds to cases at hand.

Both have straightlaced sidekicks, but Wexford has a regional accent, a wife and a first name (Reg) unlike the more aristocratic Morse, who, despite his job, seems to find fellow human beings a puzzle and seeks his comfort in fine music and drink.

Morse is first on the box at 5:30 p.m. on Star Plus, with "The Silent World of Nicholas Quinn." If you want to know whodunnit in the three-part "The Speaker of Mandarin," Wexford will wrap things up at 10:25 p.m. on Jordan TV.

TELEVISION

CHANNEL 1

6:30 News 8:45 Cartoons 7:00 Good Morning Israel

EDUCATIONAL TV

8:00 Cartoons 9:00 Huckleberry Finn 10:00 The Astronaut Princess 10:30 Zombin 11:00 Summer studio 13:00 Gielin 14:00 Puffy Butterfly 15:00 The Astronaut Princess

CHANNEL 1

15:30 Rooki Yarok 16:00 Heartbeat High 16:45 Summer Zap 17:00 A New Evening 17:35 Service Not Included - drama 18:15 News in English

ARABIC PROGRAMS

18:30 Sports magazine 19:00 News in Arabic

HEBREW PROGRAMS

19:30 Grace Under Fire 20:00 Mabab 21:00 Popolitics 22:10 Dangerous Game 23:00 Puffy Butterfly 23:15 A Known Murderer who uses the woman who loves him to keep his secret. 23:05 Backtrack 23:30 News

CHANNEL 2

10:00 Yasef the Storyteller (rpt) 10:30 Thunderbirds - puppet show 11:00 Condemn - Walt Disney film 12:45 Cartoons 13:00 Puffy Butterfly 13:05 Star Trek 14:00 Power video (rpt) 14:30 Tel Tech 15:00 Robocop - serial adaptation of the film 16:00 The Bold and the Beautiful 17:00 Reshef at Five 17:30 Fresh Prince of Bel-Air 18:00 Double Date - children's game show 18:30 Quinn - medicine woman 19:25 Lingo - game show 20:00 News 20:30 America's Funniest People 20:45 Comedy Show - local humor 21:20 Puffy Gold - Israeli drama 21:50 Quinn 22:50 Quinn (1982) - Three wild teenagers are conscripted, but still manage to keep up the good life (95 mins) 23:45 Go Night 00:00 News 00:05 The X-Files 01:00 Van Der Valk - police series

CHANNEL 2

10:30 France (1989) - a lonely girl finds a wounded deer and nurses it back to health, thinking it's one of Santa's reindeer (98 mins) 12:15 How to Suffer Wild Bunch (1965) - beach movie starring Frankie Fucilli, Mickey Rooney, Frankie Avalon and Buster Keaton (92 mins) 13:45 What's New at the Movies 19:25 Starlight One (1982) - Le Mans stars in this disaster movie 15:50 Glory Days (1988) - drama about the life of Mike Moran whose dream of becoming a football star is realized 30 years after he leaves college (83 mins) 17:30 The Price of a Lie (1990) - Courtney Cox stars as the young wife of the publisher (91 mins) 19:05 The Country Girls (1983) - coming-of-age story of two English girls (102 mins) 20:30 Win the New at the Movies 21:00 Face of a Stranger (1991) - Drama starring Gene Rowlands as a society lady who is left penniless. She meets a homeless woman (Tina Turner) and the two build a friendship. 22:40 Love and War (1987) - drama based on the true story of an American pilot (James Woods) who spent eight years in North Vietnam (122 mins) 00:15 FX (1990) Vietnam 37:2 The Martin (1986) (rpt)

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JORDAN TV

14:00 Animals of Earthlingwood - cartoon 14:30 Hey Day - comedy 15:00 Survival - documentary 16:00 Families in Wonderland 16:30 Power Rangers Wilder - drama 20:00 McHale's Navy 20:30 The Bold and the Beautiful 21:15 Harts of the West - Western (part 2) 22:00 News in English 22:25 The Ruth Rendell Mystery - The Speaker of Mandarin (part 3) 23:15 Alexander the Great (1956) - Richard Burton and Fredric March head a sterling cast.

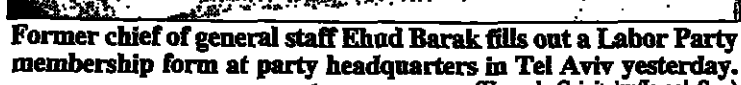
MIDDLE EAST TV

14:00 The 700 Club 14:55 The Picture Show 15:00 The 700 Club 15:55 The Picture Show 16:00 The 700 Club 16:55 The Picture Show 17:00 The 700 Club 17:55 The Picture Show 18:00 The 700 Club 18:55 The Picture Show 19:00 The 700 Club 19:55 The Picture Show 20:00 The 700 Club 20:55 The Picture Show 21:00 The 700 Club 21:55 The Picture Show 22:00 The 700 Club 22:55 The Picture Show 23:00 The 700 Club 23:55 The Picture Show 24:00 The 700 Club 24:55 The Picture Show 25:00 The 700 Club 25:55 The Picture Show 26:00 The 700 Club 26:55 The Picture Show 27:00 The 700 Club 27:55 The Picture Show 28:00 The 700 Club 28:55 The Picture Show 29:00 The 700 Club 29:55 The Picture Show 30:00 The 700 Club 30:55 The Picture Show 31:00 The 700 Club 31:55 The Picture Show 32:00 The 700 Club 32:55 The Picture Show 33:00 The 700 Club 33:55 The Picture Show 34:00 The 700 Club 34:55 The Picture Show 35:00 The 700 Club 35:55 The Picture Show 36:00 The 700 Club 36:55 The Picture Show 37:00 The 700 Club 37:55 The 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## MICHAL YUDELMAN

Smiling and relaxed, in a blue open-necked shirt, Barak reported to Labor headquarters on 110 Hayarkon Street, where he climbed to the second-floor office of party Secretary General Nisim Zivili.

Asked whether he was a political "dove" or "hawk," Barak said, "I've never gone deeply into that. I'm a pragmatic person, who thinks in practical terms what must be done so that our children and grandchildren have both security and peace."



## DAVID RUDGE

The divers have attached cables from the *Mineral Dampier* to their

Attempts are expected to be made in subsequent dives to break into the ship in order to begin searching the corridors and living quarters.

**AVRAHAM** Marcus Klingberg, sentenced to 20 years in prison for spying for the Soviet Union, yesterday appealed to the Supreme Court to grant him early release because he is ill. His first request for early re-

Klingberg, 78, was convicted in 1983 of giving the Soviet Union information about biological warfare while serving as deputy head of

In the appeal, attorney Avigdor Feldman said Klingberg suffers from "various illnesses, any one of

**GORDON**  
which could kill him suddenly, without warning." He has also had a series of strokes in the last two years.

right to die with dignity, Feldman argued. In Klingberg's case, this means the right to die in the bosom of his family rather than surrounded by indifferent or even hostile prison guards, he wrote.

Furthermore, Feldman said, Klingberg no longer constitutes a danger to state security, since he has repented of his communist ideology — and in any case, the Soviet Union no longer exists.

هكذا من الأصل

**WEATHER**

Location	Forecast
Haifa	21-30
Tiberias	22-35
Galilee	17-27
Afula	22-31
Samaria	17-33
Tel Aviv	21-30
Jerusalem	17-27
Beer Sheva	18-32
Dead Sea	27-36
Eilat	26-40

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**MINISTRY OF FINANCE - Accountant General**

Bids are invited for the supply of goods and services, required by government agencies located throughout Israel:

**Tender No. 7/95: Provision of Maintenance Services for Fire Fighting Equipment**  
**Tender No. 8/95: Supply of Cleaning Materials**

In accordance with Takanot Mishneh (Dalei) to (Het), as published in Kovetz Hatakanot 5653 on January 15, 1995, preference will be given to Israeli manufactured products, provided they are not more than 15% more expensive than imported products.

In addition, preference will be given to products manufactured in areas designated to receive national priority, in accordance with Takanot Mishneh (Alef), as published in Kovetz Hatakanot 5689 on June 1, 1995, provided the prices of the cleaning materials and fire fighting-equipment maintenance services comply with the following criteria:

Preference will be given over another product/service offered, provided it is not more than the stated percentage more expensive -

(1) For goods or services originating in Area Alef, purchased by any ministry other than the Ministry of Defense.

(2) For goods or services originating in Area Bet, purchased by any Ministry.

Last date for submitting bids: Monday, August 28, 1995, 1:00 p.m. Bid forms are available from the Tenders and Buying Department, The Accountant General's Office, Room 714 or 715, Min. of Finance Building, 1 Rehov Kaplan, Jerusalem.

Additional details can be obtained from 02-317428, 02-317418.

No undertaking is given to accept the lowest or any bid.

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